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Editorial Criticizes Government's Defense Failings

[illegible]

Adrian Mirakaj comments: The Defense of Albania's Borders Cannot Be Achieved Only by Verbal Declarations and Rhetoric's Telegrams]

[Text] The Clinton-Albright Secretariat is marking new bowing points, while the visits of Albanian-Greek diplomatic missions, which has reached its highest points with the opening of the visa of Eric Ahern, Albanian citizens and other incidents further changing the atmosphere, has shaken the relations between the two governments. After the escalation of the months ago of the Polikarpos minister, and the border between the two countries has two time again an atmosphere of serious incidents leading to the further deterioration of relations between Tirana and Athens.

Berisha and Meksi will go soon to visit of short notice? Just the last of the conflict occurred in the morning of 31 August 1994 by an unusual closing off from Corfu and flying over Saranda and Gjirokastra, which requires a commitment for about 30 minutes and dropping leaflets calling for the rights of minorities, is an act of grave unprecedented provocation. Such an incident assumes greater importance given the bilateral relations being in tension between the two governments. This premeditated act is a flagrant infringement of the country's sovereignty and independence, and as such must be strongly condemned by both sides.

However, the flying of a foreign aircraft over our country, along with its bombardment, carrying out its mission undisturbed, only a short time after what had happened in the green zone of Porkodras, where Albanian servicemen were taken by surprise and two of them killed while asleep, taken as other dimensions, greatly hurting among other things the national profit and dignity of the Albanian Army. It is an open secret that the Republic of Albania, within the structure of its armed forces, has an anti-aircraft defense force, whose duty is to protect and maintain the inviolability of our country's airspace. However, the protection of these borders cannot be achieved only by the declarations of our Foreign Ministry in Norway or by the telegrams sent to the presidents of NATO member countries. The defense of our country's borders, as the most sacred duty toward the fatherland, requires the diligence and readiness of all the military, from the last soldier to the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces.

In light of these acts, the state has come to reflect more than ever before. It is time to call to the stage the patriotism and the national consciousness, giving it a concrete form through hard work.

To be a patriot does not necessarily mean to repeat Berisha's or Sehaxi's parrotisms; it does not mean to be a member of the Democratic Party either, or to back its [illegible] and [illegible] to the Albanian government, but it does mean to be concerned for the fatherland. To act as patriots and democrats does not mean to ask Greece to keep the Albanian villagers but to create safe conditions for them to live in their country. To be nationalist does not mean to call Greece that we threaten and intimidate, but to make them feel it in fact.

The Clinton-Albright visit will not bring anything to Albania with regards. The visit is not a step further ahead, but it could turn out very bad a moment. In the arena, coming up to Albania has a crisis that could plunge into the country, and could have been even the Defense Ministry in the Presidency. It could have dropped leaflets over only the city, since Berisha was staying in Ohrid or in Gjirokastra where the Defense Minister Zhulali is still on vacation.

Some years ago when he was a doctor, perhaps President Berisha heard of a right servant working on a Moscow square. Even though the Russian defense minister was regularly under construction accompanying him on a trip, he could not escape his immediate dismissal, along with others who were responsible for what had happened.

The new European climate and relations created among states have among neighboring states in particular have made null and void the methods of the cunning Mexico. Political controversies must be confronted only in the created organizations rather than the result of compromises from the guns and years of mutual contempt, but never by talking points.

Dollar Devaluation Affects Domestic Market

[illegible]

[Report by Gezim Muco: "A Useless Profit Worse for Merchants"]

[Text] The market economy has its own peculiarities, particularly in Albania, where it is still at its early stage. Last year, the measures of Finance Ministry quite unexpectedly raised the customs price. What was the reason? The dollar has moved. The treasury said it is true that the dollar has nothing to do with consumers, but it has to do with imported goods. The dollar has fallen sharply on the free market. On 22 August, $1 was changed for 94 lek. So, the merchants going to Italy, Greece, Bulgaria, Macedonia (The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM), and elsewhere, with the same sum of Albanian money they had six months ago, can now buy far more dollars on the free market than before, and consequently they can buy much more merchandise. Thus their profit is really high. The prices of imported goods on the market are more supporting than the August level.

It was said in the figures on several goods for the first six months of this year. It turns out that they are bought cheaper abroad (at least according to the customs declarations) but are sold very expensively at home. It is not

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markets that last all. During the first six months, 180 metric tons of barley with a total value of $140,000 was imported, which equals $881 per ton, or $0.881 per kilogram. However, the price of bullet lead has been "capped" at 180 leks or over $2 per kilogram. Likewise, the average price of coffee bought abroad is $750 per metric ton, or 75 leks a kilogram, but now 1 kg of coffee is sold at 350 leks here and the annual average of this price has been at least four time higher than the corresponding price at which it was bought abroad. These are the relationships between wholesale buying abroad and retail selling at home.

Our children keep asking for fruit and cakes, but at what price did the traders buy the apples abroad? The average price for the first six months turns out to be $0.1 a kilogram, but in our shops they are sold at 40-50 leks a kilogram, that is four of five times more expensive than their wholesale price on the market abroad. Likewise, 1 kg of bananas abroad is bought for $0.34, whereas here we buy them at 150 leks a piece.

Of course, the devaluation of the dollar against the Albanian lek favors importers, but it hardly follows from that the price of leks should constantly "skyrocket." Nevertheless, it reflects the greatest damage on the consumer, who—whether in Albania, like us or foreign currency, which he has to change into leks—suffers a considerable loss on the market in imported goods.

Iran Publishes Islamic Albanian Language Magazine

AU2908171294 Vienna ATA [in ALBANIAN] in Albanian 24 Aug 94 p 1

[Report by Ioanis Ndokollari: "Khomeini Begins To Speak Albanian"]

[Text] Drama—Some of the "teachings" of the Islamic revolution led by Ayatollah Khomeini are now being published in Albanian. An Islamic cultural magazine speaks to Albanians in their own language, telling them how the world is conceived according to Allah's instructions mullahdoms, who are advised from all quarters of being the principal instigators of fundamentalism. This initiative comes from the cultural section of the Iranian Embassy in Belgrade. NUR1—the name of the magazine—is printed periodically in Skopje, from where it is distributed among Muslim Albanians. The publishers say that all the income from publication of the magazine will be used for humanitarian purposes.

The magazine has a diversified subject matter—including proper scientific articles like the ones dedicated to the holders of Islamic architecture in the Albanian lands—but every article begins with Khomeini's quotations and analyses on the theories. A constant feature is animosity toward the West—a concept that always remains abstract—considered almost as the greatest enemy of mankind itself. It is a combination of the Qoran's strictures and commissars. There follows severe criticism of "servants of the West," including "par excellence" a good number of Islamic countries. "The people in fact all the oppressed Islamic peoples"—the second most usable—"are proud that their oppressors are of the same view the enemies of Allah, the Qoran and Islam. They are really the most ferocious beasts who will refrain from no crime or manner to achieve their base and criminal goals..." In the forefront of these beasts is the United States, which is characterized by "state terrorism."

Salman Rushdie, the author of "The Satanic Verses," who has been under a sentence of death since the time when Khomeini was still alive, is another traitor who should no longer exist on the surface of the earth. The Imams was perfectly right to condemn "The Satanic Verses"—explains Dr. Kadire Seldaki in an article in the third issue of the magazine—"because he thought that work was part of the west jihad against Islam." If Rushdie had not been thwarted at the very outset, he could have written even more blatant works against Islam."

As far as the publishers of NUR1 are concerned, there is no doubt at all that the Islamic revolution will conquer all over the world. "The program of the Islamic revolution will save the world from a Western epidemic. Islam is now leading the history of changes, whereas the West is defending the status quo of the colonial legacy and imperial plunder." The ideologues of the Iranian revolution have even established the time when the conflict leading them to victory "over the Western civilization, which is tantamount to misfortune and peril" will become ever tougher: the 21st century. It seems a long way off, but in fact only a few years separate us from that century to come. The only thing that remains to be clarified is where the ideologues of the 1979 revolution place Albania, in whose language this magazine is written? Do they include it in the "decadent West" or in the "glorious Islam?"

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Ministry Calls Bosnian Serb Referendum Alarming

AU3108171494 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 31 Aug 94

[Text] The Bulgarian Foreign Ministry has issued a statement in which it describes the results of the Bosnian Serbs' referendum held on 27-28 August 1994 on the peace plan proposed by the UN Contact Group as particularly alarming.

The proceedings and the results of this, which seem democratic at first glance, have in one fell swoop thrown away a real opportunity of halting the bloodshed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the statement reads.

The Bulgarian Foreign Ministry further points out that the government of the so-called Serbian republic has assumed the responsibility for further developments not only regarding the Serbs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also affecting the current state and future of relations throughout the entire Balkan region.

SDS To Propose New No Confidence Vote

AU3108134494 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 31 Aug 94

[Text] The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) will propose a new non-confidence vote in the government at the beginning of the new National Assembly session. The motives of the new proposal have not been disclosed so far.

The SDS National Coordinating Council almost completed its work on the political agreement of the SDS member parties. At an extraordinary meeting on 3 September the last corrections will be made, and on 4 September it will be signed by all parties in the SDS, which have the right to a decisive or consultative vote.

Filip Dimitrov, SDS leader, explained that the new-founded Democratic Party also could sign the new political agreement. If its chairman Stefan Savov refrains from doing this on 4 September, it would mean that the Democratic Party does not want to be a member of the SDS any longer, Filip Dimitrov said.

On 3 September the new chairman of the SDS Election Staff will be elected. The current chairman Ivan Kostov resigned today. Valentin Vasilev of the Democratic Party and Vladislav Gankazov from the Bulgarian Democratic Forum are the two candidates for this post.

KNSB Leadership Demands Cabinet Resignation

AU3108133094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 31 Aug 94

[Text] The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB) will presumably again urge the political forces to demand the government's resignation on the grounds that Lyuben Berov's cabinet is conducting a radical anti-social policy. This was declared at a news conference in Sofia today by KNSB Deputy Chairman Ivan Neykov.

A national strike committee of the KNSB discussed the Lyuben Berov cabinet's policy at a recent meeting, describing it as anti-social, directed against the trade unions, and against the people's interests.

The strike committee proposes to the KNSB Coordinating Committee to approve decisions for active protest actions in the autumn of 1994.

KNSB Chairman Krastyu Petkov sent a letter to Zhan Videnov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) Supreme Council, in which he expresses his disagreement with the Socialist leader's answer to his recent open letter, stressing that he does not regard their polemic as concluded.

The trade union leader views Videnov's message about a new reform and new elections as a sufficient platform for personal and public debates. Krastyu Petkov has expressed his readiness for discussing the reform strategy and the KNSB's involvement in this process at any time, as soon as the BSP speeds up the procedure of forming Professor Berov's cabinet.

Defense Minister Blamed for Army Conflict

AU3108174494 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 29 Aug 94 p 6

[Commentary by Kliment Boev: "Beyond Minister-General Conflict"]

[Text] There is a conflict between Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov and General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Army General Staff. It is not a result of a clash of personalities but a matter of principles. It would have been easier to forgive them if it was a personal conflict—if they do not like each other, let them divorce and be happy. Other people will replace them.

However, the issue is a matter of state importance. The scandal involving the retirement of the new group of colonels is only the tip of the iceberg. While the General Staff clearly understands the Army's current unenviable situation, as well as the immediate, close, and future tasks regarding strengthening the country's defense, the civilian minister continues to work on the basis of the pass-work principle. What is even worse, Aleksandrov is continuing the destructive line of his predecessors.

If it was only a matter of the defense minister, one could demand his resignation, get rid of him, and eliminate the problem. However, the supreme commander in chief, Zhelyu Zhelev, suddenly decided to support his pet Valya (Valentin) Aleksandrov and sent Ivaylo Trifonov, the chief of his office, to the television, where he repeated a stupid populist statement of April 1994. This immediately placed the president and the defense minister in a rather defenseless position, whose work was competently destroyed by the defense minister at his 25 August demagogic news conference.

The minister got lost in his own arguments regarding the great need of young officers (up to the rank of captain) by

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Commentator: London Supports Macedonian Policy

[Unattributed report: "Unattributed Comment"]

[Excerpt] Greater commentary "Under Consistent Banner"]

[Text] Greece violated the rights of the Macedonian minority in the country, THE TIMES of London wrote yesterday. At first glance it appears that Britain is seriously concerned about human rights. However, the actually is no criticism of Greece. All international documents affect the UN Treaty of Berlin speak rights of the Bulgarian minority in Greece. However, for THE TIMES there is no Bulgarian, but rather a certain unclear Slavonic Macedonian minority.

Championing the rights of the Macedonians in Greece is not surprising about this act of piracy. It would be naive to think that London has been deceived by the "Helsinki Watch" international humanitarian organization. Furthermore, this must has a history of 1,000 years.

Since the total disintegration of Yugoslavia and the beginning of the war Greece has constantly been violating the sanctions against Serbia and imposes a position that contradicts the position of the European Union and NATO. In contradiction to all international laws Greece pronounced an economic embargo against Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], something for which the European Court ruled that no punitive measures should be adopted. This it seems that THE TIMES publication seeks a different goal.

Within one week an article about the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria will certainly appear somewhere. Otherwise the aforementioned article would have certainly not appeared in THE TIMES. And it confirms that the BBC carried a report in which it was explained that the "Slavonic" language spoken in northern Greece was known already only by the older generation. However, the members of that generation receive pensions of about $200, which they would hardly sacrifice for their otherwise "positive" statements toward Bulgaria. The long-winded and lyrical report contained variations of the theme such as "Bulgarian Macedonian language" and subsequently "non-Bulgarian Macedonian." The BBC did not have these qualifications on anything.

At present FYROM is governed by politicians who continue to view Bulgaria as the basic enemy and Serbia—as a strategic ally. They need external support if they are to remain in power, implement their law, and manipulate the population. London supported this course on the basis of the decisions of the Communists in Moscow, which have long been rejected by the East Europeans. These decisions are still considered valid, or simply the time has come to implement these decisions by those who are most interested in their implementation.

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President Urges National, Civic Reconciliation

[LD1509122194 Bratislava Radiozurna Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1900 GMT 31 Aug 94]

[Excerpts] President Michal Kovac and wife gave a reception tonight in Bratislava Castle to mark tomorrow's 1 September state holiday, the Day of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic.

The reception, given on the eve of the second anniversary of the adoption of the Slovak Constitution by Slovak parliament, was attended by Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council, Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik, and other personalities of political and social life. The heads of diplomatic missions accredited to the Slovak Republic were also present. The opening toast was delivered by President Michal Kovac, who said:

[Begin Kovac recording] I believe that all of us gathered here today are sincerely pleased that the day of the adoption of the first democratic constitution of the Slovak Republic has become our state holiday.

We have recently commemorated the Slovak National Uprising, an event that has forever become part of our nation's history. The Slovak National Uprising put Slovaks among democratic and antifascist nations. Those who fought in the Slovak National Uprising left us a legacy of the most precious values--namely, national freedom, democracy, and irreconcilability with violence and the suppression of human rights.

By adopting the Constitution of the Slovak Republic we have embedded the legacy of the Slovak National Uprising in the supreme law, and, at the same time, we made a decisive step toward Slovak statehood. Therefore, I consider the day of the adoption of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic the day of Slovak statehood.

The Slovak parliament, which emerged from free and democratic elections in June 1992, and the deputies who on 1 September 1992 adopted the first democratic constitution of the Slovak Republic, have earned themselves a special place in the history of the Slovak nation's struggle for democracy, national freedom, and Slovak statehood.

It is good that, after the independent Slovak state was declared on 1 January 1993, almost all deputies, as well as the political parties and movements whose deputies did not vote on 1 September 1992 for the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, have gradually come to pledge allegiance to Slovak statehood.

These parties and movements, in particular, should continue to convince citizens of their sincere attitude to Slovak statehood because it is one of the ways of overcoming the political polarization of Slovak society into those who longed for Slovak statehood, on the one hand, and those who subscribed to it later or were against it on the other.

Full reconciliation can only be reached if we, all of us, show generosity and broad-mindedness, if we all view Slovak statehood as our shared creation, and if we all unite in helping it grow and get stronger in peace and harmony. [passage omitted]

We are all well aware that the citizens of our country long for a respectful and peaceful life because for too long they were forced to suffer and live in conditions of suppression, lack of freedom, and material deprivation. Neither strife nor deepening the political split of society into two blocs, but forgiveness and generous steps toward political and civil reconciliation will help us to overcome this inhumane legacy of the past and to secure our society's well-being. This calls for an ability to view things impersonally, to see beyond events and individual personalities but the historical context of the actions of many people. It is wise if we look for everything we have in common and not for the other way around. A mutually accommodating approach, as opposed to a meaningless confrontation, will surely bring us closer and reconcile us. It will contribute to the strengthening of Slovak statehood. [passage omitted]

We are approaching the election campaign. I wish that our citizens, voters, assess the competing parties and movements not on the basis of sweet words but according to what extent they are able to contribute to civic and national reconciliation, to creating an atmosphere of calmness, respect, tolerance, and togetherness, and to strengthening Slovakia's international position.

These are the essential preconditions of our successful way forward.

Ladies and gentlemen, in conclusion I would like to say that, over the past two years, the Constitution of the Slovak Republic has passed the test. It has created the basic legal framework within which it is possible to bring into harmony the varied, even conflicting, interests of citizens, institutions, citizens' associations, minorities, and political parties. It is not an exaggeration when I say that the Constitution of the Slovak Republic is a guarantee of our statehood and its democratic foundation, a symbol and a basis of a full-fledged national existence. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Air Force Chief CW's Mol.'s 'Really Useless' Actions

AU2608132594 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 26 Aug 94 p 1

[Article by "krr, cha": "The Army Does Not Want To Risk the MiG-29"]

[Text] Prague--Unlike the Czech Army, which decided to modernize its MiG-21 aircraft that have been manufactured since the 1960's, the Slovak command is gambling on building its Air Force with the Russian top-notch fighter jet, the MiG-29. Major General Stefan Gombik, Slovak Air Force and Air Defense commander, considers the Czech approach underdeveloped from the

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expert point of view, but the Czech Army official considers it the best of all possible worlds.

"I am not commenting on this move; it is the business of the Czech Army and Air Force. As long as I am in office, however, I will not propose anything of the kind. A single MiG-29 fully replaces four MiG-21's," he said yesterday.

Colonel Frantisek Padelek, deputy inspector of the Czech Air Force and Air Defense, stated, however, that the Army's concept is only reckoning on the MiG-21 for a transitional period. "It is not a type on which our Army could depend in the future. He also recalled the recent view of the Defense Ministry that the Army is not interested in modernizing equipment from countries with unstable politics. In the future, when there is enough money, aircraft will be purchased somewhere other than in Russia.

The fact that the Slovak Army is speculating on state-of-the-art fighter jets is also based, according to Col. Padelek, on Russia's promise to pay its debts to Slovakia by supplying several jets. The Czech Republic [CR] refused a similar offer.

Gen. Stefan Gombik considers MiG-21 aircraft old. "They are really useless," were his exact words.

The Czech Army is speculating, however, that Israeli firms are likely to modernize the MiG-21, and they have vast experience in the modernization of Soviet arms, which should guarantee quality.

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Police Seize Stolen Radioactive Material

[illegible] Budapest MTI [illegible] in Hungarian 0700 GMT 31 Aug 94

[Excerpt] [Interviewer] The police have seized 1 kg of radioactive material [passage omitted].

A correspondent's passage omitted] The question was raised here whether the radioactive material originated from [illegible] Colonel Laszlo Tarkanyi, head of the organized crime department of the National Police, said the following.

[Begin Tarkanyi recording] The majority of these materials that are stolen from power stations, where they are accessible, are isotopes. They are utilized to detect flaw in welds, cracks in the materials and the support structures in use there or another, in the case of the Paks plant it is cesium or a beta-range [illegible] source. [end recording]

Plant Security 'Adequate'

[illegible] Budapest MTI [illegible] in Hungarian 31 Aug 94 p 5

[Unsigned report: "Interview with Miklos Kocsis, Chief of the Paks Nuclear Power Station Administration Office, about new data on [illegible] Material Stolen from the Paks Nuclear Power Station"]

[Text] We conducted a telephone interview with Miklos Kocsis, Headquarters on 30 August about the data revealed in the investigation, arrest conducted in the Tarnok region against organized crime. We had a question for us and was passed to Colonel Laszlo Tarkanyi, head of the service in the interest of the investigation, was not possible to provide any further information.

What we learned is that on 27 August the police in cooperation with the Interception Office arrested two people who were trying to sell radioactive material to a person dealing in stolen goods. The two Hungarians, who do not have a criminal record, are not professionally involved in the production of legal trade of radioactive materials and one of them has a doctorate. However, it was not possible to identify the case because the person [illegible] occupied in a Skoda 120 from the police's van. [illegible] patrol car. Nevertheless, there is no need to worry, the experts believe that the persons will be caught in a matter of days.

It is not known until what amounts and from where these two kilograms of raw material that is suitable for producing nuclear weapons - although after complicated processes - found its way to the black market. Its composition and quality are being examined by the National Radiation Biology and Radiation Health Care Institute. Apart from the many unanswered questions, we learned from Tarkanyi that trade in radioactive material is a product of the last five years. Although the official value of these materials is very low, $10,000-100,000 is often paid on the black market for an amount costing $100. Following 1990, the year 1992 was conspicuous in Hungary, when 14 people were arrested out of 18 attempts. According to experience gained so far, the radioactive material sold in Romania and Russia, and their final goal presumably was the Middle East, to countries in illegal trade, the cases of detection cannot be neglected either. It is also known from previous cases that in selling materials related with nuclear power, in the majority cases criminals pocketed large amounts of money from credulous people. However, the really damaging effect of these products is a bigger danger because the radiation can be life threatening if the material is not carried appropriately in lead containers.

[illegible] Material [illegible] in Hungary is used at large quantities at the Paks Nuclear Power Station, while the Budapest Technical University's teaching reactor at the Csillaghegy site of the Central Research Institute of Physics uses it for experiments. We interviewed Bence Kocsis, head of the Paks Nuclear Power Station's Interception Office, on how safe the use and protection of these materials are.

[Kocsis] Since Hungary signed the international nuclear energy agreements, it has been using the nuclear raw materials purchased in Russia according to strict norms. The fuel of materials used in the process is periodically conveyed to the plant and they are transported in a closed system.

[illegible] Can the materials used in Hungary fall into illegal trade?

[Kocsis] I would feel like to say that, in Hungary, [illegible] activities, radiating materials have been found in the vicinity of Pongyelaszilag, near Tata [north of Budapest], since 1976. These wastes are placed in metal barrels in concrete bases and covered with soil. Their further use would be virtually impossible and the possibility of access to them can almost entirely be excluded. The other group consists of used nuclear fuels that come from the power station. On the basis of a former intergovernmental agreement, we transport them back to Russia by rail in a closed system.

[illegible] Can unauthorized people access them during transportation?

[Kocsis] As nothing can be excluded, in theory, it could be possible. However, the used fuel elements weigh hundreds of kilograms and are in several metre-long closed metal systems that are transported in steel containers. Therefore, in practice, it is not possible for someone to just pick them up and walk off with them. For the sake of completeness, I also have to mention the raw materials that are the source of nuclear fuel, which are uranium concentrates known as yellow powder. They cost $20-25 a kg on the black market. Therefore it does not pay well to deal in them. As nuclear weapons are not made in Hungary and as we do not have enriching and fuel processing plants, Hungary can only act as a transit country.

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[illegible] MOL's [illegible] new [illegible] for the security measures at Paks and other guarantees have not been cleared to prevent illegal access."

[Kovacsi] In addition to the accounting in the plan as mentioned before, experts of the International Atomic Energy Agency regularly check up on the basis of the international agreement. In addition to this, a hidden camera system has also been installed in the Central Block, which takes shots at certain intervals without our knowledge or intervention. It should also be pointed out that the dismantling of a reactor takes days, so a dozen photographs could be taken during that time. Therefore, it is included even as a theoretical precaution the scenario in which an illegal action here or in Hungary is different matter that materials of various quality and quantity, which were purchased on the black market, are transported through the country. No one needs to fear that the underworld can make further use of these materials because the smelting and mixing plants and the plants selling nuclear fuel pellets are so complicated that it becomes even for organizations like these in Hungary to see clear the importance of this issue lies in the fact that these materials can indeed be used for armed clashes or blackmailing or threatening from time to time. This is a public matter and not an issue for the power station.

Industry, Trade Minister Views Tasks, Prospects

[illegible] [Interview with Hungarian Industry and Trade Minister Laszlo Faltyi by Katalin Bossanyi; place and date not given: "Generally, I Am Not in Favor of Investment"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Bossanyi] The creation of a modern government structure adjusted to the conditions of market economy received an outstanding role in the program of the Hungarian Socialist Party and the alliance of Free Democrats. They planned numerous organizational changes; however, in the end, they only combined the Ministry of International Economic Relations [MOGM] with the Industry and Trade Ministry [IKM]. Perhaps because this was the weakest point?

[Faltyi] In early as in 1990, I was already convinced that a separate ministry was in charge of foreign economic relations and industry, and another ministry in charge of domestic trade. The openness of the Hungarian economy, the development of an export oriented industry, and the demand for integration into the European Union all justify this issue. Not to mention the fact that the IKM and the MOGM functioned as "two neighboring castles" in the past four years. [passage omitted]

[Bossanyi] Does the changing economic policy justify the issue of monopoly?

[Faltyi] Definitely. I regard the other savings as only additional profits. I have always been in favor of a uniform economic ministry, an organization that covers almost the entire real sphere. [passage omitted]

[Bossanyi] The decision that you would reorganize the traditional system on the professional basis of the former MOGM was...

[Faltyi] Because new conditions in the market are needed to maintain or encouraging trade and investments rather than in the subject and the enterprise sphere. Therefore, we are focusing on creating a more competitiveness export-encouraging system, a new investment credit and the insertion of competition rules. We are reorganizing the ministry into functional and professional blocks, and we will probably end this work in October this year. [passage omitted]

[Bossanyi] Do you agree with the privatization concept [illegible] being followed?

[Faltyi] Yes, as far as the main points are concerned. As an experienced expert, I also supported the unbundling of state property management, the acceleration of privatization and a decentralized ownership change. However, I mentioned the idea of not being able to interfere in the ownership of areas like the energy sector where the IKM has strategic functions and financing responsibilities.

[Bossanyi] The government program stipulates that the bank and debt consolidation should be ended as soon as possible. What is your opinion?

[Faltyi] I feel the methods used so far to be mistaken. A lot of funds were used up without any result. I would support a system of subsidies that forces the banks to [illegible] in more selective categories "debt management" and based on assets.

[Bossanyi] We hear that an increasing number of firms, including many private owners, would request rescue actions by the state.

[Faltyi] We should help firms that have a market and a viable development plan and even them under strict conditions. I am not in favor of a general reorganization. I think that here have been a lot of subjective elements both in bank credits and state subsidies in recent years. [passage omitted]

[Bossanyi] What new management techniques do you have in mind?

[Faltyi] The measures we are urging are connected to the measures that encourage investments and ventures that affect the entire economy, as well as the acceleration of debt consolidation. In solving the problems of sovereignty, I would give a priority role to closer cooperation with the neighboring countries, in the form of joint ventures and area cooperation. [passage omitted]

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Ukrainian Army Chief Views Cooperation Prospects

[redacted]

[Text] The unattributed report on interview with Ukrainian Army Chief of Staff Ivanniy Lopata in Budapest on 10 August: "Ukraine Is Ready To Help"]

[Text] In the course of his visit to Hungary Colonel General Ivanniy Lopata, chief of staff of the Ukrainian Army, is holding talks on Hungarian-Ukrainian military cooperation, including military technology and training issues. Hungarian Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti will receive him today. Ivanniy Lopata gave an interview to our correspondent on 10 August.

The two armies and the two general staffs were equally interested in the visit, which suits the interests of both nations regarding cooperation. Friendship and mutual learning and adequate level of the two armies and a high level of combat readiness, Lopata said. Earlier agreements signed by the two defense ministers laid the foundations for many measures that are now being worked out.

Hungary and the Hungarian Army is in a difficult situation in connection with maintaining an adequate combat readiness for as military technology and arms. The level in Ukraine is higher for the time being. On the basis of the amount of its available arms and the disarmament processes under way, Ukraine has the right to hope to be able to provide technical assistance to the Hungarian Army, Lopata said.

Ivanniy Lopata mentioned the fact that he developed personal friendship relations with Hungarian Army Commander Janos Orsos. "I have known Mr Orsos for some time, and we also met in Brussels and we had the opportunity to speak about the Partnership for Peace program. His concern about the combat readiness of the Hungarian Army is not only understandable but also sympathetic for me," Lopata pointed out.

In connection with the possibilities of cooperation and assistance in military technology Ivanniy Lopata said the following: "Tanks, armored personnel carriers, and armored transport vehicles must be dispatched to Ukraine. Our radar industry is of a good quality. Our air defense system is very well organized. We could work out a mutual air-defense control system. We could employ higher-quality telecommunication systems."

According to Ivanniy Lopata, the talks also dealt with the issue of officers training and additional training. "New solutions are needed in the future, and very interesting decisions might emerge. There are Ukrainian students at the Hungarian Military Academy, and Hungarian officers are studying in Ukraine. Many military cadets studied in Kiev in the past."

In connection with his trip to the provinces, Ivanniy Lopata declared the following: "Until the circumstances exist to function with a very good organization. At the same time, I came to the conclusion that the situation is even more complex in rural units than in ours. The service term was cut to the Hungarian limit, while our soldiers serve for two years. The Hungarian training must be very efficient and organized in order to train good soldiers. We will also have to reduce military service, as we have enough things to learn and gain valuable experience.

"We took all the good and useful things that we can learn from you. We started civil army reorganization earlier, and a civilian became defense minister in Hungary earlier. This process is only beginning in Ukraine now with the appointment of Valeriy Shmarov as defense minister.

Concerning questions on international military policy matters, Ivanniy Lopata pointed out the following: "Both Ukraine and Hungary should study the Western criteria, technology, and army organization if we want to participate in the Partnership for Peace program. Of course both of us are equally interested in and concerned about peace and peace [word illegible] given our tasks to fulfill. We have two [illegible] in Bosnia engaged in complex peace keeping tasks; mutual consultations like this one can increase the level of our activity."

Answering questions about the consolidation of the Ukrainian Army and the formation of an independent Ukrainian military, Lopata said the following: "I can hardly explain this in the course of this interview. The most important thing that you might be interested in is that Ukraine is building its own armed forces. This activity did not start in a moment, we had foundations on which to build, but now an independent Ukrainian army is emerging. The normalization of relations between various national minorities and other groups within the army is a natural process that is progressing well. Perhaps we did not understand the high importance of this problem at the beginning, but today the Ukrainian army is based on the principle of equal rights for all the Ukrainian citizens, and the organizing principle is that we form an Ukrainian army for the Ukrainian nation."

Defense Ministry Reports on Financial Situation

[redacted]

[Text] The parliament's Defense Committee heard a briefing at a closed session on the present situation at the Ministry of Defense. Deputy State Secretary Kazmer Laszai later briefed journalist Peter Csorscsi reports.

[Begin Csorscsi recording] We took over the ministry from the former government with a deficit of 11.7 billion forints, Deputy State Secretary Kazmer Laszai said. Following a rapid crisis management it has been cut down to 3.1 billion forints, he said. However, taking into account the expenditures cut by 2 billion forints--planned by the supplementary budget--we can expect a deficit of 5.1

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[illegible] Gyenes. He added that the text could only be tightened at the expense of the state. Drastic conclusions have to be implemented in Finance staff-related expenses.

However, there will be serious consequences if reconstruction and maintenance of installations are postponed. Military and civilian companies that do this work will get into a difficult situation—jobs of several thousands of people will become uncertain.

Kamill Lenca also said that refund bills amounting to more than 300 million forints also has to be paid by the ministry.

Following the closed session Imre Mecs, Defense Committee Chairman, said that the Hungarian army could in no way be treated as the only culprit here so far. Therefore the financing system has to be changed radically. For this the management system of the Ministry of Defense and the Hungarian Army has to be changed, and rational relations have to be developed.

According to Imre Mecs, the following is budget institutions will be suitable for making money. Therefore the fact that a volume of 17 billion forints is included in the Army's budget is justified. Given the fact that in reality, using this a small amount of the revenue is expected to be realized this year, he added.

The Defense Committee asked Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti to report on his activities next week before the debate on the supplementary budget [not identified].

Minority Newspaper on Treaty With Romania

AU2609111 Budapest BUDAPESTI MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Sep 94 p 1

[Article by Antal Laszlo under the rubric "Viewpoint": "Under the Pretext of the Romanian-Hungarian Basic Treaty"]

[Text] The head of the new Hungarian government was still battling for votes when he declared that he did not want to be the prime minister of 15 million Hungarians, and that he would sign the basic treaty between Romania and Hungary. Antall used the concept of 15 million Hungarians to indicate his desire to represent the interests of all Hungarians dispersed throughout the world. Later on the head of government softened his statement, and members of the new cabinet, [as] Foreign Minister Jozsef Kovacs, committed themselves to view the basic treaty as a means and not as an end. They also said that the treaty would, by all means, have to contain guarantees for respecting the rights of the Hungarian minority in Romania.

Speaking for Romania, Foreign Minister Melescanu made several statements concerning the treaty. In each instance, he emphatically pressed the blame on the Hungarian Government for not having reached an agreement so far (the blame is someone else's fault), and repeatedly welcomed the efforts of Gyula Horn, and of the new Hungarian leadership.

There was a reasonable expectation that deeds would reinforce words, that the Romanian Government would try to prove that it was better than the old Hungarian leadership, that it would fully support, with both deeds and words, friendship and reconciliation between the two nations, and that it would make an effort so that the two countries—including the peoples and communities living within their borders—coexist in peace and understanding.

That is what we would have expected to happen.

But it did not happen, and is not happening today.

In contrast to the above expectations, powerful Romanian circles launched a forceful anti-Hungarian campaign in response to Hungarian gestures conveying certain desires, as the time approached to make such desires known. Extremist manifestations and statements multiplied. Attacks defaming and questioning the loyalty of Hungarians as Romanian citizens were made, and continue to be made in parliament and in the Senate, as well as in every field of social and political life. As a result of these attacks, the legislature adopted, and continues to adopt laws that gravely violate fundamental human and civil rights, in total disregard of commitments made when Romania became a member of the Council of Europe. The law on education takes first place among them. Moreover, Our leaders have declared a countless number of times that this law represents a step backwards even as compared to measures enforced under the Ceausescu era, because it contains numerous prohibitions that do not guarantee, but hinder the development of our education, of the Hungarian educational system. Under this law, we do not have our own universities, and consequently we cannot pursue scientific endeavors either; our churches cannot maintain independent parochial schools; what we may have are primarily departments in schools, enabling the constant cutting of the number of our classes, requiring us to launch a new struggle every fall for each and every class we teach. The law establishes disadvantages even at the grade school level. A larger number of Hungarian children than Romanian children is required for authorizing the establishment of a class, even though by logic, this should be in the reverse, because Hungarians, not Romanians, are in the minority in Transylvania. We are not permitted to hold specialized classes, and in the few schools we have, we cannot teach every subject in the Hungarian language. And our rights are not real rights either, because nothing ensures our ability to enforce these rights. The opposite is true. The law prohibits us from fighting for our schools, a person commits a crime if he encourages parents and children to attend schools in which the language of teaching is Hungarian, and these schools are, by all means, at a disadvantage. And a mass of other rights violations, and legislation violating our fundamental rights is taking place. Our native language has

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[illegible] under the [illegible] law of what is [illegible] courts and by those in power. Official organs are removing bilingual signs [illegible] the streets in Marosvásárhely [illegible] and hand over to the courts autonomous local governments which, within their own municipalities, attempt to open institutions authorizing the use of both languages [illegible] the example in Hadrovszk (part of Csongrád County). A court invalidated a decision like this made by the autonomous local government of Kiskőrös [illegible] (Ungi Sándor). The defendants are not [illegible] language [illegible] Hungarian being, the fact that we respect our culture, the language of our mothers, of our ancestors. None of the judgments refer in any way to the fact that we do respect the official language of the state and that we recognize an agreement on the use of that language. No one has taken action in that regard, as the judgments expressly challenge our language and our identity and do not assert that we [illegible] our rights as citizens. Discrimination, [illegible] criminal court decisions are not being considered, the sanctions pronounced [illegible] persons convicted of breaching [illegible] and [illegible] laws [illegible] prevailed. Hence, only cultural [illegible] attempts to [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] during the [illegible] guilty and the [illegible] continues to be the subject of [illegible]. So it means to be a country for [illegible] of democracy. Watch out, don't [illegible] to [illegible] countries in similar situations!

Our values, symbols, and even the fact that we are Hungarians, are targets of open incitement. Those in power have not condemned, or [illegible] given active [illegible] to the [illegible] request of Kolozsvár [illegible] Gyárfás, the mayor who provides us [illegible] to [illegible], and whose actions have received [illegible] condemnation, one could almost say a racist character to those days, at the end of the 20th century, to see able to use from public life the language of people who have lived there and created culture for 1,000 years, to see able to attack and impede the operations of our institutions, to [illegible] to [illegible] us, and to insult our national and human feelings without receiving so little as a scolding. To the contrary: Those in power have formed a coalition with the party, they embrace and support his comments, and openly or tacitly approve of him. This has actually taken place in regard to the scandal involving monuments, the scandal that raised tempers in recent weeks.

I regard the removal of King Matthias's statue under the pretext of archeological excavations, and the changing of the magnificent beauty of Kolozsvár's main square that stands in our historic presence, in none other than a well-planned strategy, very well as an impact in several directions. First, it was a bomb to divert attention, a bomb that exploded precisely when parliament debated the far reaching, proponent education law. This prevented Hungarian people from taking a united stand against the legislation. Even our own senators were busy demonstrating in Kolozsvár while votes for the education law were cast, and voting was secretly scheduled for the day when the Hungarian senators would be absent. Then present in any form, even in the form of remarks in parliament, has failed to materialize. Second, it was a warning to Hungarians to take note that we exist, our culture were of no value to those present, to assert that today's Romania was [illegible] Hungarians, that it would [illegible] to [illegible] of Hungarians [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] cultures. Concurrently, [illegible] who [illegible] the traditional view of the role of the [illegible] such as Vlad Csáky, Csávossy[illegible], Marosvásárhely [illegible], Ujvári, Nagybánya [illegible], Bíró Márton, etc. [illegible] and [illegible] with even Kolozsvár as [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] time was left for implementation, [illegible] to [illegible] mayor now wants to make up for what was failed to accomplish in [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] press, using any means [illegible] [illegible] warning to us, and [illegible] to all of Europe, [illegible] showing that we had nothing to do, absolutely nothing, [illegible] that could be attached [illegible] to us in any [illegible]. The people holding power are accomplices of the extremist [illegible] in every regard. [illegible] [illegible] anything he wants to do. They give him a free hand and devastate our culture, our values, our symbols, and our souls, and they are not willing to adapt themselves to [illegible] European standards.

Considering all the above, can we possibly [illegible] to be prevented? Why the timing, at the end of the year, in tandem with a predictable gesture by the Hungarian government, a declaration of intent to [illegible] recognition of [illegible] minorities in the effort to [illegible] [illegible] on the eve of negotiations. The background [illegible] suggests that the Romanians want to create a situation in which the issue is placed on the agenda, presenting the [illegible] [illegible] of this issue as an internal matter, and not as part of the problems that have [illegible] [illegible] to our nation, but [illegible] problems of regulations [illegible] will pertain to external mechanisms [illegible] possibly including the [illegible] condemnation of [illegible] [illegible] ments, and not to our fundamental, essentially important values. Such fundamental and essential issues would include the recognition of [illegible] forms of autonomy, enabling us to develop our own autonomous governing system, the free development of our culture, our science, and our entire intellectual life, the guaranteeing of our right to use native land, and to inherited assets, the return of our confiscated assets, assets belonging to churches, cultural institutions, and the private property of Hungarians, such as the Hungarian House in Temesvár [illegible], the development [illegible] possibility to develop an educational system to be maintained by us, one that would ensure the survival and our right to a national identity and to human rights. The latter includes the Csángós [illegible], permanent Hungarian minority in the Moldavian region in Romania, the Hungarian populace of Moldavia, the preservation of Hungarian character for more than 800 years, but whose identity is now being questioned by those in power, the recognition of full equality, and [illegible], the [illegible] of racial discrimination, and the fulfillment of the December 1989 promises made at Csíkszeredában [illegible]

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[illegible] and performance of agreements reached with the Council of Europe. In other words, by way of these well-timed actions, those in power declare that they are not willing to give anything in exchange for guaranteeing the existing borders. They declare that they are not willing to provide any kind of framework in which Hungarians of Romania can survive, because this contradicts the perceived interests of the country. They do not agree to any kind of mutuality; on the one hand, they demand that their borders be guaranteed, but do not promise the same in reverse (the idea "Romania Mare" [Romania para la Tina"] viewed several times after December 1989 has never been officially repudiated by those in power; similarly, those in power have not declared in any form that they do not want to change the borders of Romania).

Everyone who agrees with the cause of democracy, and within that, with the cause of the Hungarian people, should be aware of all this. One should endeavor to have a good neighbor relationship, but it would be a grave, unforgivable sin to sacrifice any of our fundamental human rights for having a good neighbor relationship. I trust that the present Hungarian Government is also aware of this.

Minority Newspaper on Treaty With Slovakia

AU2809151 Budapest UJ SZO in Hungarian 4 Aug 94 p 4

[Editorial by Antal Szilvasi, chief editor of UJ SZO: "Let Us Have A Good Basic Treaty"]

[Text] The topic most frequently dealt with by the Slovak media these days is the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty. Experts confer, politicians make statements, and journalists qualify the statements. Due to their ideological or personal biases, some commentators, who often think in terms of their own preconceptions, are inclined to complicate this, from our standpoint highly significant, problem cluster by depicting Hungarian and Slovak democrats desirous of quickly reaching an agreement on one side of the barricades, while placing Slovak and Hungarian nationalists opposed to any reconciliation and acquiescence on the other side. Doubtless, both kinds of forces can clearly be seen on the political palettes of both neighboring countries, but still, the situation is not that simple.

Not everyone who attributes prime significance to the quality of the treaty, rather than to the date of the treaty is beholden to a nationalist.

In analyzing the situation through these nondistorting optics, it becomes obvious that one cannot expect to see a signed treaty within days or in my view, even within weeks. The treaty is expected to contain two pivotal points. The first point presents no problem, because no Hungarian Government has ever viewed the idea of revising the border. But if the Slovak side expects Hungary to reaffirm this fundamental principle as a gesture to reinforce confidence, there will be no obstacle in the path of doing so. One should add to this point, that the openness of borders, and creating new border crossing points would be in the interest of both countries.

Development of the second pillar of the treaty will, obviously, prompt much debate, as it will be time consuming. This pertains to guaranteeing the collective rights of national minorities residing in the two countries. The Slovak side is far more reluctant than the Hungarian side to act in this regard. This is not commendable, but one has to consider the fact that recently with respect to this issue, very many Slovak politicians exercise far more caution before the elections, even as compared to their own previous positions, because they do not want to lose potential voters. And even at that, the Slovak head of government has stated several times that the document would deal with minority rights only at the level of general principles.

Only a few general principles exist from the standpoint of the Hungarian Government, because beyond general principles, the Hungarian Government would like to give force to the treaty. Only specific provisions can be controlled and made subjects of accountability, both on a mutual basis, and in the European context. By no coincidence, Laszlo Tokes called attention to the fatal weaknesses in connection with the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty—to the making for a much longer time than the treaty with Slovakia. Relative to the treaty with Romania, we have listened to the vain platitudes parroted by Ceausescu and Gross, but unsubstantiated with, and after stating these platitudes, the harsh exclusion of Transylvanian Hungarians from public life and from their homeland, and prohibitions from supporting culture in the Hungarian native tongue continued. Quite obviously, the situation is different today in a number of contexts, but not in all contexts, and for this reason the afterlife of the Ukrainian-Hungarian basic treaty provides a lesson to be learned. This document had been prepared by the Antall government, it was approved by the National Assembly with the support of the socialist and liberal opposition, but in the view of Hungarians of the Lower Carpathians—the people affected by the provisions of the treaty—the document contains few specifics, and the Ukrainian side has yet to perform on some of the specific provisions, such as the enactment of a nationalities law, dual language use, and partial autonomy for the Beregszasz [Berehove] County District.

The government of Gyula Horn wants to consummate a good basic treaty within the foreseeable future. Several groups of experts are finalizing the Hungarian positions, much consultation is taking place virtually on a daily basis. On Monday, the Slovaks of Hungary paid a visit to political State Secretary Csaba Tabaldi, and late in the afternoon, the Hungarian representatives of the Party of the Democratic Left dropped in. The day before yesterday, the chairmen of the three Hungarian parties in Slovakia were guests at the Office of Hungarians Beyond

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the Borders, and they were also received by the head of government. By coincidence, prior to the conference I had an opportunity to chat with the party chairman in Budapest. It was clearly evident that not only Miklos Duray, but also Bela Bugar and Laszlo A. Nagy had specific comments and expectations regarding the draft basic treaty.

It is in the fundamental interest of Slovakia and Hungary, and within them, of Hungarians in Slovakia and Slovaks in Hungary, to consummate the basic treaty at the earliest possible date, because doing so would also boost confidence in West Europe. On the other hand, Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs is justified in stressing that he would like to reach an agreement on the treaty quickly, but the treaty should be able to withstand the test of time. Quite obviously, the date when the agreement is consummated is not a side issue, but the quality of the document, and the specifics contained in it are far more important. This is so because historical reconciliation, a present, and even more so, a future cannot be based on general declarations.

MDF Government Program 'Threat' to Provinces

[AU2609144 Budapest [illegible] *in Hungarian 24 Aug 94 p 7]*

[Interview with Zoltan Bogardi, Hungarian National Assembly deputy and member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Attila Nagy; place and date not given: "The Government Is Not Province-Friendly"]

[Text] To aid parliamentary work and to foster informal and institutional contacts, the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] parliamentary group has established four offices, one for human rights, another for constitutional and legal matters, a third one for economic matters, and the fourth one for security policy and foreign affairs. At a news conference the other day, the offices reviewed the government's program. We interviewed member of parliament Zoltan Bogardi about the program's chapter on agriculture and requested him to outline the MDF parliamentary group's standpoint.

[Bogardi] Having read the document several times, I wish to point out immediately that we believe we have found danger lurking between its lines.

[Nagy] On what do you base this statement?

[Bogardi] In our opinion, this is a program that will generate uncertainty, even though it is not possible to be more specific. The danger lies in the ambiguity and covetable. Perhaps the experts seem to be using certain old concepts more often than warranted. Here I have particularly cooperatives in mind. At the same time, the experts appear to be overemphasizing private ownership's determining role. Our interpretation of the relationship between these two facts is that the continuation of the change of owners is uncertain. It is likewise unclear how the government now defines cooperatives. As one form of the association of private owners? Or some other way? Or should the "socialist" mentality return, it would strongly influence the propensity to save. Z, a if running through accumulated assets becomes dominant once again. Does the government's promise to shift toward accumulation will remain merely a campaign trick.

[Nagy] In your group's opinion, what role does the government intend to assign to the state farms?

[Bogardi] I will have to start answering your question by first asking a question of my own. Will state farm workers receive their pay of 20 Austro-Hungarian gold crowns? Of course, there is no question of turning everyone into a capitalist, or of being able to live on the equivalent of that many gold crowns. But the fact is that the outgoing government gave the people a chance to become better off by investing those 20 gold crowns. It would not be good if that were to change.

[Nagy] The MDF had announced already in 1990 a program for the provinces' advancement. From that point of view, what is your parliamentary group's assessment of the government program?

[Bogardi] It may sound strange, but I have to mention amending the Law on Incompatibility. It is almost certain that some MP's will be running in the local elections this autumn, namely in the larger settlements. That could result in the formation of a strong city lobby in the National Assembly. On the other hand, I wish to emphasize that the withering away of Hungary's villages could seal the fate of the provinces for good, even if a proportion of the collected individual income tax were retained locally. For 30 or 50 percent of nothing is still nothing. Let us hope that the government will come to realize that canceling Tapo would irreparably set back matters in the provinces. Development of the provincial infrastructure and the expansion of businesses

Official on Duna TV's Independence, Popularity

[AU2711164]

[Editorial Report] The deputy director of Duna TV, the controversial satellite station in Hungary that broadcasts to the large ethnic Hungarian communities in neighboring countries, indicated recently that he is concerned about the station's future under Hungary's new government. Interviewed on 18 August in the weekly MAGYAR HIRLAP, Gabor Hanak rejected two plans that parliament is considering in drafting the new media law. One would make Duna TV—which is now managed by an independent foundation with government-appropriated funds—a department of state-run Hungarian Television. Noting that he speaks for Duna TV's director and the co-deputy director as well as for himself, Hanak said that although under this plan Duna TV would broadcast seven hours a day, its loss of independence would be unacceptable because "no matter how much autonomy a department has, it is subordinated to the larger entity," especially "in times of difficulties or reorganizations."

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Hanak also categorically rejected the other plan, which would leave Duna TV out of the media law altogether and thus effectively deprive it of further government funding. If that plan is adopted, he warned, instead of phasing out its programs so that the public "does not even notice" the disappearance of broadcasting across the borders, Duna TV will terminate operations "with a bang" to call attention to the issue.

Declaring that the only viable solution is to continue Duna TV in its present form as a publicly funded independent organization, Hanak defended the station and described his plans for its future. He rejected as "lies" charges that the station costs too much, saying that it is impossible to run a satellite station with fewer than 200 employees. Hungarian Television would need 600 to do the same job, he claimed. He denied that there was any impropriety in the station's relationship to the previous government's leading party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), saying that although according to some views Duna TV "was conceived in our 'bedroom' [it was founded in the apartment of MDF politician Sandor Csoori], Duna TV's over-all operation has perhaps proven that we have not had any calls either politically or moral that warrant punishment." While it must be independent of Hungarian Television, Hanak emphasized, Duna TV should have access to the programs of the central station for retransmission to satellite to other Hungarians. Only by choosing such programs according to its own criteria can Duna TV serve the ideals of a "united Hungarian culture and European integration," Hanak said. He also called for expanding Duna's "true information network" (to 50 "workshops" in minority areas that provide Duna TV with program material, saying that these local sources are the most timely and least expensive.

The interview and accompanying public opinion data from Romania—which has two and a half million ethnic Hungarians according to Hungarian estimates—indicate that Duna TV has considerable popularity in minority areas. Although within Hungary's borders 40 percent of the population has access to Duna TV, only 2 percent of this group watches the station. In contrast, according to Hanak, in the Transylvanian area of Romania, Duna TV has "more than half a million steady viewers." A box included with the interview reports data based on a survey conducted by the Hungarian Gallup Institute in the spring of 1994. According to Hungarian Gallup, Duna TV reaches mainly those Hungarian-inhabited areas of Romania that are far from the border and therefore have no access to Hungarian television. Thirty-eight percent of the ethnic Hungarians and 13 percent of the ethnic Romanians in Transylvania have access to Duna TV. Of the Hungarians who have access, 47 percent watch Duna TV "at least once a week," with "almost two-thirds" of the viewers watching it every day. The station even has some following among ethnic Romanians, with 16 percent of Romanians with access watching the station three to five times a week, the poll indicated.

Supplementing the figures, Hanak described the Hungarian minority's attitudes toward Duna TV. When the station's representatives tour Transylvania, he said, they find that interest in Duna TV is "touching[ly great everywhere." The station gets "an enormous number of letters" from minority areas, and the "standard-setting intelligentsia" of the minority is in regular contact with the station to make its views known, according to Hanak. Discussing the kinds of programs the ethnic Hungarians want, he indicated that they view the programs mainly as a vehicle for breaking out of their ethnic isolation and reestablishing contact with mainstream Hungarian life. They would like "much more" reporting on the domestic political scene in Hungary, and they would like their own local culture to be treated as "part of unified Hungarian culture." For example, he said, instead of getting a separate report on the theater in Marosvasarhely [Targu Mures in Romanian], they want to hear about the Marosvasarhely theater in the same program that discusses the theaters of Budapest, indicating his agreement with these goals. Hanak emphasized that Duna TV "never wanted" to treat the ethnic Hungarian community as a "ghetto."

Data on Small, Medium, Large Private Companies

[Article by Eva Lukacs: "Many Private Companies With Little Capital"]

[Text] This year marks the first time that official statistics have appeared about the indicators expressing the relative economic importance of the various sectors based on ownership. A publication of the KSH [Central Statistical Office] presents the economy's structure in a breakdown by ownership, as it existed at the end of 1993. [We have omitted from our investigations the budgetary financial institutions and the financial sector.]

For several reasons, it is difficult to determine the economy's breakdown by ownership or the private sector's relative importance. On the one hand, it would be necessary to know the ownership shares of every company and, on the basis of the chains of owners constructed in this manner, to assign the ultimate owners to the appropriate sectors. To map the ownership relations of businesses is a difficult task anywhere in the world, and in Hungary the mass privatization now taking place makes this task even harder. On the other hand, because a company may have several part owners, a rule had to be established on the basis of which it could be decided into which sector to assign a given company when certain proportions existed.

In 1992, an overwhelming majority (48,000) of the companies already belonged to the domestic private sector, and the number of companies under foreign control exceeded 1,000. The 4,500 state-owned companies employed half of the approximately 3.4 million-

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business employees, produced 55 percent of net output and handled 52 percent of export.

Classification

Companies that are to remain permanently state-owned, and the ones in which the state holds a majority interest, were assigned to the state (public) sector. Companies in which foreigners hold a majority interest were placed in the foreign-controlled sector. All unincorporated small businesses were assigned to the domestic private sector. Of the companies required by law to use double-entry bookkeeping, we included in this sector also the ones in which the state or foreigners did not hold a majority interest.

Within the domestic private sector, the 4 percent of large companies employed nearly as many workers and produced as much net output as did the 42,000 small companies. The large companies accounted for 70 percent of the private sector's export earning and for 71 percent of total net output. In the public sector, however, the large companies' share exceeded even 90 percent in the case of these indicators.

The average number of employees per company in the public sector was 17 times higher and the average subscribed capital 32 times higher than in the private sector. But much smaller differences were found in the average net output per company: it was only 4.5 times greater for large companies and merely 1.5 times greater for small companies.

In 1992, 80 percent of the companies employed 20 or fewer workers each. The many small foreign-controlled and domestic private companies pulled down the average. The average employment at public-sector companies was substantially higher: 18 percent employed over 300 persons each, and 29 percent employed between 51 and 300 persons each.

Thus, the domestic and foreign-controlled private sectors within the Hungarian economy accounted for more than half of the business sphere's performance in 1992. The less-efficient public sector employed half of the work force and public-sector companies still operated the larger share of business assets (more than two-thirds of the subscribed capital). The paucity of private capital basically determines the private sector's expansion, and therefore the private sector has many small companies with little capital, and more such companies are being established. Numerically, the transformation is spectacular, but the paths of privatization do not always produce fundamental changes. For instance, neither the restoration of the original owners' title to property taken over by the old agricultural cooperatives, nor the employee stock ownership plans have really produced owners supporting a new strategy.

The processed data outline the two paths by which the domestic private sector is gaining ground. The large private companies emerged as a result of privatizing state enterprises and of restoring the original owners' title to property taken over by the old agricultural cooperatives. At the other end one finds the many small private companies, a substantial proportion of them newly formed, operating with less than 10 million forints of capital each. It is a favorable trend that although many of these companies started with small amounts of subscribed capital, their net outputs per unit of capital are much larger than those of the large and medium-sized companies respectively. Per 1,000 forints of subscribed capital, for instance, the small companies' net output was 2,500 [figure as published] forints, the large ones' 150 forints, and the medium-sized companies' not quite 160 forints. In addition to the greater efficiency of private companies, these considerable differences can due also to differences in the types of business activity. Within the public-sector companies' net output, industry accounts for 55 percent, and capital-intensive transportation and communication account for 21 percent. In the private sector, however, services that do not require much capital are the dominant.

The ways and rates of private capital's expansion differ by branches of the economy. In agriculture, 84 percent of the large companies came under domestic private ownership in the wake of restoring the original owners' title to property brought into the old agricultural cooperatives. These large companies provided more than 60 percent of the large-scale farms' net output. In manufacturing, the proportion of private capital was small, but foreign capital's share of manufacturing's net output was the highest—16 percent. Besides being dominant in agriculture, domestic private companies are also dominant in the construction industry, commercial services and personal services—they accounted, respectively, for 68, 62 and 60 percent of the net output in their branches. Dominant in the construction industry and services are the successors of the industrial cooperatives, and of the sole proprietorships and partnerships that grew in the years before the 1989 Business Associations Law came into effect. In trade, accommodations and catering, domestic private companies provided half of the net output, and among the large companies, private ones provided a third. It is very likely that, in addition to the transformed cooperatives, also the new large companies played a significant role in this. However, the medium-sized companies' performance is lacking—the companies in this category provided barely more than one-tenth of the enterprises' combined net output. The category of medium-sized companies can be expected to evolve within a few years, from among some of the prospering small companies.

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Walesa Speech at Solidarity Anniversary in Gdansk

LD3108123094 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1434 GMT 31 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Here is the text of the speech by Polish President Lech Walesa in Gdansk today during the ceremony to mark the 14th anniversary of the August agreements. It was received from the president's press bureau:

"When we celebrated our first Gdansk anniversary, I said we would meet here every year to talk about Poland. It is about Poland that I want to talk today.

Ladies and Gentlemen, a free Poland began here 14 years ago. We said, "No freedom without solidarity." This great truth was accompanied by a still greater hope and, above all, by struggle. Today we live in a free, independent, and democratic country. This is what Solidarity has achieved. [passage omitted]

We are all trying to serve Poland, so we are all moving along the one road. It would be good if we helped each other. If someone does not want to cooperate, if he has a different vision of Poland, then at least [it] does not be a hindrance. Let him compete with ideas and by his activeness. He should not however destroy what has already been created and corrected. [passage omitted]

I keep repeating that Poland faces a great historic opportunity today. I repeat it, although I understand that people today want to hear not about historic opportunities, but about wages, pensions, rents, and electricity bills. I know life is not easy. If we completely forget about challenges and reforms, however, if we dismiss that and concern ourselves solely with our own affairs, we will have a worse life in the future. The effects will be lamentable if we shake the still weak stability of the Polish state.

New cards in the game for the future of Europe and the world are being dealt before our eyes. We can at last participate in this game. We must participate in it. We must have the strongest cards: an efficient state, a productive economy, educated people. Whoever wants to think about how to do this and looks for allies in this cause is serving Poland. [passage omitted]

We must also recall, however, that we are making up for half a century of losses. For 50 years, after a terrible war, Poland was destroyed by communism. It destroyed the country and destroyed people's souls. Making up for these losses is the task of years and maybe of generations. When this is understood, one can make a fair assessment of the past five years. Separate the wheat from the chaff.

I think Solidarity faces a very important choice today. It has reached the maturity to make this choice over the past few years. It will be either a destructive or a controlling force. It will be a party of the dissatisfied or a trade union helping to create Polish transformations. You should keep a close watch on what the government is doing, every government. Just as where slow progress is being made, where ill will or incompetence are clear to see. I know there are moments when one has to bang one's fist on the table. Above all, however, one has to talk, to argue over concepts and ideas. We have to make the reforms and not a new revolution. I will put it differently: We have to complete what we started in August, but complete it in such a way that Poland is not the loser.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I do not make light of the threats that have been growing since 19 September of last year. I see what is happening, just as you do. I see the return of what we thought had gone forever. It is we, the people of Solidarity, the people of August, who must not remain indifferent to these threats. We must be vigilant, so that Poland proceeds on the right direction: vigilant for independence, freedom, and democracy, for the building of an efficient economy, and for a fair distribution of the costs of the reforms. We must be effective in our actions. That means we should come to agreement among ourselves, cooperate, and not play against each other.

It seems to me that the people whose roots are in Solidarity have grown too far apart. I was always in favor of pluralism because a variety of ideas and solutions is healthy and necessary. We cannot keep on dividing endlessly, however. The time has come for us to find the way back to each other, to define what is most important to all of us, what we all want to serve. Poland needs our solidarity." [passage omitted]

Ladies and gentlemen, the struggle for the reforms in Poland, for a free, democratic, and safe Poland, is not over yet. We have to finish what we started, to break once again the resistance of those people who want to hinder us in this. We must be together in an understanding of our own intentions and motives. If we do not agree on everything, it does not mean we cannot hold out our hands to each other.

Poland is waiting for this gesture of the outstretched hand. Our children, for whom we must build a good future, are waiting. Let us have the courage to be wise. Wiser, we will be more effective."

Offer of Cooperation' Viewed

WS3109112794 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Sep 94 p 2

[Article by Piotr Adamowicz: "Commemoration of the Anniversary in Gdansk: Walesa Submits an Offer of Cooperation"]

[Text] "People who come from Solidarity ["S"] have drifted too far apart. There is too much playing without the ball on the Polish playground, too little team playing. We should come closer to one another, we should seek what ever links us because all of Poland is waiting for the gesture of an outstretched hand." Lech Walesa appeared in front of the monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers.

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The president delivered his speech on the occasion of the 14th anniversary of the signing of the Gdansk agreement, which resulted in the establishment of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] "S." "I know that this is not how many Poles pictured a free Poland; many people are disillusioned, even infuriated, with the present situation," Walesa admitted. Even in "S" one can hear opinions that it is the president who is unfit to blame. To those who think the situation was better in the time of communism, he replies: Your memory is poor! He respects the discouraged people and recalls that "we are making up for half a century of losses." "However, we are traveling the same road. It would be good if we helped each other. Whoever has a different vision of Poland should not disturb its rough progress by putting forward new ideas," the president exhorted.

"Today we must resist what we began that August. The result of the 19 September election changed the situation in the country, produced new threats. Therefore, we should reach an understanding and not play against one another. On the Polish playground, there is too much playing without the ball, too little team playing. When we were together, we achieved victories. Today Poland needs new solidarity," Walesa said.

"The president's appeal and the offer of cooperation apply not only to NSZZ "S." They concern all political groupings and parties that come from this great movement. The president's intention is not establishing a new great movement but working together on issues that are most important to Poland—with the observance of pluralism," acting Presidential Spokesman Leszek Spalinski told RZECZPOSPOLITA.

According to the president, "S" itself is facing an alternative now. It will decide to be either a party of the dissatisfied, a destructive force, or a trade union that controls and supports the reforms.

"S" Chairman Marian Krzaklewski reported that as many as 800,000 signatures have been collected under the citizens' draft constitution. According to Krzaklewski, the "S" camp should unite due to the threat of passing a constitution that is not supported by the majority of society. The "S" leader stated that the union will fight for its rights and will oppose the postcommunist threat by means of all methods that are envisioned in its statute; it will also organize popular resistance.

Before this, the president, the transport and maritime economy minister, Bogusław Liberadzki, and Tadeusz Fiszbach, a signatory of the August agreement, along with "S" delegations, took part in the celebration of Mass at St. Brigida Church. Archbishop Tadeusz Gocłowski, who delivered the sermon, criticized parliament. "The Polish Sejm is making efforts to announce death for unborn children—just to make it believe the conference in Cairo."

More on Milczanowski Defending Zacharski Decision

AU2310083194 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Aug 94 pp 1, 11

[Article by Anna Marszalek: "Milczanowski Is Sorry for Zacharski"]

[Text] "Office of State Protection [UOP] Chief Gromoslaw Czempinski was against the nomination of Lieutenant Colonel Marian Zacharski and proposed two other candidates for the post of chief of the intelligence services. He was my candidate."

"Neither the president nor the prime minister was consulted on the decision. I am responsible for this nomination, and I am ready to submit my resignation within one day," Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski told deputies of the Sejm Administration and Internal Affairs Committee. He reported that he had submitted to the prime minister two candidates for the position of chief police commandant: Bogusław Sitnicki from Krakow and Warsaw Commandant Jerzy Stanczyk. The prime minister proposed Leszek Lamparski to this post (he was already chief commandant in 1990 and 1991).

On Thursday, the Prime Minister's Political Advisory Committee will issue its opinion on the candidacies of Lamparski and Sitnicki. At a press conference in Gdansk, President Lech Walesa said that he had no reservations concerning any of the candidates. However, "there may arise problems with Mr. Lamparski because he receives a disability pension, whereas a policeman's health must be good."

Milczanowski stated that he is very sorry that, "because of the circumstances that have arisen," Zacharski cannot fulfill the function of civilian intelligence chief because he is a real specialist, and his professionalism is appreciated, even by the Americans. Zbigniew Bujak, a member of the Union of Labor [UP] and chairman of the committee, believes that Zacharski lacks political competence, which was proved by the fact that he did not predict the commotion that would be caused by his appointment. "The appointment of Zacharski was against the interests of the Polish state and against its foreign policy, the purpose of which is Poland's integration into NATO." Minister Milczanowski was attacked by Jan Olszewski of the Freedom Union, who quoted opinions of Zbigniew Brzezinski and Jan Nowak-Jeziorański.

"There was no such threat. No one is entitled to say that Zacharski used to work for the KGB. He was not the one who decided where the materials he obtained were sent. He was not a spy, but an officer of the Polish intelligence services," replied Milczanowski. Sejm Deputy Zbigniew Siemiątkowski of the Democratic Left Alliance stated that the strength of Zacharski's character was proved by facts. He did not yield during the four years he spent in a U.S. prison.

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[illegible]

Replacement of UOP Press Spokesperson

[illegible]

Exercises With German Navy Begin in Baltic Sea

[illegible]

[Article by Navy Lieutenant Janusz Wasilak: "Baltops '94 Sailor Years"]

[Excerpts] The Baltops 1994 maritime life-saving exercises have begun in the Baltic Sea.

The exercises are part of a working agreement signed by the Navy of the Polish Republic and the sea rescue center REF Glucksburg on 27 September 1993. This is already the second set of such exercises to be held. Poland played host to last year's exercises (Poltar 1993). This year, the Germans are acting as host. The first practical contacts between the Navy of the Polish Republic and the German Naval Forces occurred in the early 1990's.

Participating in the exercises will be the following Polish units: an Mi-14P rescue helicopter from the 43rd Squadron of Submarine Combating and Sea Rescue of the Polish Navy from Darlowo, headed by Commander Lieutenant and Pilot Josef Slawecki; a PZL W-3 RM Anakonda helicopter (a maritime version of Sokol) of the 56th Rescue and Combat Air Squadron from Gdynia-Babie Doly, commanded by Navy Captain and Pilot Tadeusz Deryczewski; officers of the Search Coordination and Rescue Subcenter (ARKW) in Gdynia. Two ARKW Gdynia officers will fly to Glucksburg, where they will participate in the exercises alongside their German colleagues.

The following German units will take part in the exercises: a Sea King helicopter of the rescue squadron in Pantow; officers from REF Glucksburg and two officers from Glucksburg who will participate in the Polish exercises. [passage omitted]

The exercises will be directed in Glucksburg. Participating in the directorate will be the leaders of both countries' rescue forces and maritime Air Forces.

The purpose of the exercises is to enhance the rescue capabilities and readiness of both states' navies, and to cooperate in handling sea and air disasters in each country's zone of responsibility.

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Sejm Accepts Government Accounts for 1993

LD1109122194 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1842 GMT 11 Sep 94

[Text] Warsaw, 11 Sep—By 278 votes for, 23 against, and 61 abstentions, the Sejm today accepted the government report on the execution of the state budget in 1993, thus accepting the government accounts. The deputies also approved the report on the performance of the Polish National Bank [NBP] last year and on the implementation of fiscal policy.

While accepting the government accounts, the Sejm drew attention to irregularities in the functioning of the Privatization Ministry, the Culture and Arts Ministry, the Agricultural Market Agency, the Fund for Restructuring and Debt Reduction in Agriculture, and the State Fund for Rehabilitation of Disabled People.

The report on the NBP performance was accepted with three objections. An NBP influence on the reduction of the price of credit was considered not efficient enough. In effect, there appears to be a considerable difference between the level of inflation and the interest on credits and a drop in the real value of credit for economic entities. Deputies considered cooperation between the NBP and the government in shaping economic policy and the functioning and development of the banking system unsatisfactory. Two large discrepancies in reconciled suits in settlements of accounts between the NBP and the state budget were also met with negative opinion. The conclusion on the NBP and fiscal policy was accepted by 156 votes with 79 against and 123 abstentions.

Lippmus 1993 Budget Report

WS2209012194 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Sep 94 p 7

[Article by Ewa Kanicka and Jerzy Pilczynski: "A Quiet Debate: Vote of Acceptance of Accounts Passed"]

[Excerpts] The Sejm yesterday adopted the report on the implementation of the 1993 state budget and, by doing so, passed the vote of the government's accounts. Of the deputies, 278 were for the report, 23 were against, and 61 abstained. The Sejm also adopted—with 156 votes for, 79 against, and 123 abstentions—the report on the activities of the National Bank of Poland [NBP] last year and on the implementation of financial policy. However, while it passed the government's vote of accounts, the Sejm pointed to several examples of irregularity in the functioning of the Privatization Ministry, the Culture and Art Ministry, the Agency for Agricultural Marketing, the Fund for Restructuring and Lowering Agricultural Debt, and the State Fund of Rehabilitation of Disabled People. Thus, it accepted the motion submitted to the Sejm by the Commission of Economic Policy, Budget and Finances.

The deputies accepted the report on the activities of the NBP with three reservations. They evaluated the influence of the NBP on the decreasing of credit prices as not very efficient. NBP's cooperation with the government in the area of shaping the economic policy and the functioning and development of the banking system as not satisfactory. [passage omitted]

As was stressed by Deputy Mieczyslaw Lipinowski of the Democratic Left Alliance, who presented his commission's report on the budget report, great influence on the implementation of the budget in 1993 was exerted by the "nucleus government." Waldemar Pawlak, who implemented the state budget law at the end of the year, did not have much room for changes.

The budget's revenues were 45% million zlotys [Z] and were higher than planned by 2,221.1 million—that is, by 5.0 percent. The expenditures, which totaled Z502 billion, were lower than predicted in the budget law by over Z12 billion. Thus, the budget deficit, which was estimated to be Z61 billion, amounted to Z43 billion, which was 15.6 percent of the plan. [passage omitted]

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Iliescu Addresses WWII Anniversary Symposium

AU2308170594 Bucharest *ROMANIA LIBERA* in Romanian 22 Aug 94 pp 1, 3

[Speech by Romanian President Ion Iliescu at the scientific symposium "50 Years Since Romania Sided With the United Nations Coalition—Domestic and International Significance" in Bucharest on 22 August]

[Text] Esteemed guests, half a century has elapsed since the decade of heroism, sacrifice, and boundless human suffering of World War II.

In spite of all this, we relive the moments of those moments with the same intensity as ever. Fortunately, veterans of the great battles waged at the time are still among us and, what is more, they are ever capable of symbolically carrying out another difficult military operation, as has happened during the 50th anniversary of the landing of allied troops in Normandy.

Our individual and collective memory will keep alive and almost unaltered the pain of the immense human losses caused by the war; nevertheless, I also remember the spectacular flourishing of hope at the end of the war, which the dream of a new, democratic, and free organization of the world, which will no longer allow for a repeat of that catastrophe and which will give each human being the chance of a free and decent life, seemed so high.

Today's world—the world that contemplates those moments and ties once more 50 years after their happening, to decipher their military, political, economic, and human significance—is totally different from the world of those days. Who would have thought at the end of the war that a French-German military troop would march on the Champs Elysees on France's National Day or that today's leaders of Japan and Germany would kneel before the monuments raised to the victims caused 50 years ago by the armies of their countries and that they would beg for forgiveness from those who had to suffer from those aggressors? Who would have thought that the defeated powers of that time—Germany and Japan—would become two strong democracies, which are among the protagonists of the world economic competition or that yesterday's enemies would become today's allies and partners?

On the other hand, the present keeps having the tendency of "remaking" the past in accordance with its needs, face or similarities.

Therefore, how can we protect ourselves in the face of so many traps, which the very history of these past 50 years, as well as our own subjectivity, are springing on the narrow way leading to the truth?

What is the significance of Romania's joining the United Nations coalition 50 years ago in the great confrontation of World War II?

While believing that it is up to the historians and the political and military analysts to objectively investigate, with the specific instruments of research, all the aspects, the political and military implications, and the national and international dimension of the 23 August 1944 act which marked the break with Hitlerite Germany and Romania's joining the war effort of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, I would like to present at this symposium several thoughts on the commemorated events that took place 50 years ago and draw certain political conclusions among those on analysis of those events.

In the international circumstances of the years preceding World War II, despite the efforts of the League of Nations to achieve collective security at a European or regional level, the policy of the great powers sacrificed Romania, as well as other states from Central and Southeastern Europe, on the altar of their own interests.

As far as the historians and political analysts everywhere are concerned—aside from the natural differences that can be found in such approaches—the outbreak of World War II was made possible by the "conciliatory" policy practiced by the Western powers vis-a-vis the aggressive acts of the Third Reich, fascist Italy, and imperialist Japan and by the failure of the tripartite talks held in Moscow in the summer of 1939, which were followed by the signing of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact on 23 August 1939. In the known form, one day before the start of the conflagration, the fate of Poland, the Baltic countries, and Romania was sealed through an imperialist understanding concluded between two great expansionist powers, run by fascist and communist dictatorial regimes. What Stalin could not obtain from Chamberlain and Daladier was offered to him by Hitler, who thus made sure to avoid a war on two fronts. After Finland's fall, Romania remained isolated and threatened from all sides, enjoying only certain general guarantees referring to the continuity of its state existence, but not its territorial integrity. Therefore, Romania was obliged to accept the tragic events of the summer of 1940, namely the occupation not only of Bessarabia, but also of northern Bukovina and the Herta region—which have never belonged to Russia—by the Russian troops, in the wake of the 26 June 1940 ultimatum, and the occupation of the north-western part of the country by Hortheast Hungary, in the wake of the Vienna Dictat of 30 August 1940. A victim of understandings struck between the fascist-revisionist powers and the Soviet Union, the Romanian people had to support the tragic consequences of a policy of force and dictat.

For Hitlerite Germany and the Stalinist Soviet Union, the 23 August 1939 pact and the beginning of World War II meant the creation and exploitation of a favorable political-strategic context to concretely implement their expansionist plans. But for the countries in Central and Eastern Europe, those events meant occupation, territorial losses, millions of victims, and even their vanishing from the map of Europe. The only exceptions were Hungary and Bulgaria, which profited from their special relations with Berlin and Moscow.

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Under the growing pressure exerted by Special Germany, which practically met no resistance from France and Great Britain and was directly encouraged by Stalin in Central and Eastern Europe, the democratic edifice of Romanian political life collapsed. The leaders of the time tried to borrow the "political fashion of the day." For a moment, Carol II thought that he had found the solution to preserving Romanian statehood and also saving his position by establishing, in 1938 a regime of personal dictatorship of the Mussolini corporational type. In abolishing the 1923 Constitution, dissolving the Parliament, banning the political parties, imposing the single party of the National Renaissance Front, and conducting an incoherent domestic and international policy, he accomplished nothing but managed to pave the way for another dictatorship—first, the Iron-Guardist one, on 6 September 1940, and then the personal dictatorship of Antonescu, thus practically closing the door on any other options of political maneuvering, except for obedience to and the tragic alliance with the Berlin-Rome axis, which Antonescu will eventually seal with his own signature.

Romania was thus hastened to a destiny alien to it. Although deluded by the chance of recovering the territories beyond the Prut River, once the war broke out in the East, our country found itself engaged—contrary to all its historical and political interests—in a war against its traditional allies and in the service of a totalitarian power, whose ideals of "racial purification" and of building the "1,000-year Reich" could not have had any kind of resonance in the spiritual structure and aspirations of the Romanian people.

The attack launched by Nazi Germany on the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941 and Romania's joining the war would only confirm another subtlety of the German diplomacy, which, by exploiting the greed of some and the blindness of others, turned a potential enemy into an ally, by promising it the return of something that actually had belonged to it, before the implementation of an understanding conceived by none other than Berlin itself. At the same time, one should point out that, without the 23 August 1939 pact and the 26 June 1940 ultimatum, it is inconceivable that Romania would have become involved in the war against the Soviet Union and joined the anti-United Nations camp. The huge human and material losses suffered by the Romanian people and other peoples, including the Soviet Union and Germany, were caused by acts and developments that severely violated the natural rights of nations. At the same time, the more the Romanian state extended its participation in the war, the more its real chances of regaining the lost territories decreased.

Unfortunately, one must realize that the fate of the territory between the Prut and Dniester, which was ceded by Hitler to Stalin in order to make Romania join it in the anticipated clash with the Soviet Union, was also an object of blackmail and negotiation between Great Britain, the United States, and their Western allies, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, on the other.

After declaring war on Romania in December 1941, the British Government concluded a pact with Moscow in March 1942, whereby it accepted that the territory of Bessarabia and north Bukovina, which were forcefully occupied by the Soviet Union in the wake of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, legally belonged to the Soviet state.

Although the United States initially protested against the aforementioned accord, in the spring of 1944 Washington decided to observe the understanding reached between London and Moscow with regard to Romania.

Throughout the entire inter-war period and then in the years of the war itself, Romania tried hard and did all it could to make the West support it in the face of pressures and claims coming from the Soviet Union; it hoped that the West would do it out of moral considerations. That was one of the great disappointments of the politicians of those times, a reason for sporadically virulent laments even today, which does nothing but blur the tragedy caused by the inability to understand the terms that have always animated the policy of the great powers.

From the failure of the efforts made by Nicolae Titulescu (Romanian foreign minister 1927-36) to conclude a Romanian-Soviet political-military treaty based on observance of the territorial status-quo, all political-diplomatic negotiations, later overlapped by military confrontations, have emphasized the existence of pre-established conditions. The Western countries were not disposed to sacrifice, either theoretically or practically, their relationship with the great power from the East, even when their relations were of animosity or profound distrust.

In the life of men and peoples, particularly during great historical events, there are certain crucial moments when evolution seems to be held up by a decision. These are the moments when the "real future" is chosen from among several future options.

For Romania and its destiny during World War II, this crucial moment occurred in August 1944.

At the political level, it became obvious to the political forces in Romania that nothing would break the coordination between the allied forces of the United Nations and nothing would divert them from the basic principles established at Yalta and Tehran regarding the negotiations with the defeated countries. There was no other exit but the unconditional capitulation. In other words, the rights of the allies to unconditionally decide the place and form in which the defeated countries will act in the future composition of Europe, as well as the cost they will have to bear in this respect.

Seen in the light of these developments, the significance of the 23 August 1944 movement is that of an immense act of national will, of a difficult but absolutely necessary

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restoration of the Romanians' inalienable right to shape its destiny in accordance with its national interests and aspirations, even in the most unfavorable domestic and international circumstances.

On 23 August 1944, Romania did not have armies against an ally, but asserted the right to its own choice in the face of a great power which, related to territorial integrity and imposed upon it a subordination that was profitable only to that great power's policy of expansion and occupation. The decision to turn arms against Hitlerite Germany had cost, with all its economic and military potential, the war effort of the United Nations, although taken in the last moments—was a dramatic one, since no one could approximate exactly the possible consequences of such an act. In the case of failure, Romania might have been consistently or successively devastated by the German forces stationed on its territory or by the Soviet forces which have already broken through the Iaşi-Ungheni front. There were no guarantees that that action will be supported in its unfolding or that it will be later recognized as a legal and opportune act by our country's acceptance in the camp of the anti-fascist coalition.

The decisive and unbridgeable action of the political forces united in the Democratic National Bloc and their cooperation with the Court and responsible cadres from the leadership of the Army have decided the country's fate in those moments. Through its capacity of decisive and coordinated action, through its command cadres and disciplined that have always characterized it and particularly through its ability to correctly assess the situation and, itself, melt with the nation's best interests, the Romanian Army has again been—like many times in the past—standing at clear historic moments of the country—the decisive capable of saving the state and national destiny of the Romanians in those dramatic times.

In the extremely difficult circumstances of the time, the Romanian Army successfully carried out, first of all, the operations to defend the capital and the oil region of Ploiesti by defeating the invasion of the German troops concentrated in this region, concurrently with the broad-scale operation of covering the South and the Romanian-Hungarian demarcation line in the Transylvanian Plateau, coming from the German military dispositive, outflanking the armies deployed on the Moldavian front, and liquidating the German resistance points on the national territory.

Despite the diversity of the stands of the main political protagonists of the events of 30 years ago—Iuliu Maniu (president of the National Peasant Party 1926-47) and King Mihai in Lucrările Partidului (leader of the internal branch of the illegal Romanian Communist Party)—all stressed the historic significance and crucial importance of the 23 August 1944 act for the national destiny. For instance, in his statement on 1 September 1944, Iuliu Maniu called the act as being equal to a great revolution.

The significance of the 23 August 1944 act is equally emphasized by the consequences this act had on the further unfolding and denouement of the war. Romania's action had a decisive impact on both the evolution of military operations and the political situation in the geostrategic space of South-Eastern Europe. Even being ready to turn the Carpathian Mountains into a decisive resistance fortification of the German Army before the advance of the Soviet troops, all of a sudden this potent option for the German front in the Balkans ceased to exist. "A huge breach has opened in the German front from the Carpathians to the Danube, for whose closure there is no available unit for the time being," the combat journal of the High Command of the South Ukraine German Army Group wrote. "Romania's exit shows great courage and will speed up the end of the war." Radio London broadcast on 24 August 1944: "The Court of America radio station broadcast on 23 August 1944 an excerpt from the THE NEW YORK TIMES: 'Romania's exit from the war causes a considerable weakening of the German force in eastern Europe and may even lead to the total collapse of Nazism.' A more eloquent expression of the military and political implications of the Romanian action in the statements made by Albert Speer, former minister of armaments in the Third Reich: "This was the career of the defeat. It arose through the fact after 23 August 1944 of the supply sources from Romania. There is no doubt that 23 August 1944 was a decisive turning point in the history of the war production and economy, latter in the history of the conflagration itself."

The huge human, material, and organizational effort mobilized by Romania after 23 August 1944 up until the complete victory of the UN forces against Germany and its allies has been written down on the "Golden Book" of our national history and, in spite of the fact that Romania was not granted the statute of cobelligerent, virtually no one ever contested the strategic value and political importance of these huge sacrifices. In its most concentrated form, the importance of this effort was maybe best emphasized as early as 1946 by a French source: "France believes that Romania, through its deeds, contributed to shortening the war by at least six months."

I am taking this opportunity to voice my gratitude and to bow before the memory of those who, through their sacrifice, wrote a crucial page of heroism in our national history.

In the 10 years that have elapsed since the 23 August 1944 act there have been many who strived to assume all the merits. Starting with the parties that were active at that time on the Romanian political scene and ending with the Royal House, no one has ever recalled either then or since then the responsibility that rested with them for the catastrophic policy they pursued before the war or the fact that Romania was dragged into a desperate situation on 23 August 1944.

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Certainly, the international situation in the years prior to the war was strongly unfavourable for Romania, its interests having been sacrificed in the interests of the great international protagonists of that time. Certainly, the Iron Guard movement, which succeeded for a short time to monopolize the power in the Romanian state, had received strong support from abroad. No doubt that Ion Antonescu, apart from certain incontestable qualities that he had, had assumed dictatorial powers and was directly responsible for engaging the country at the side of Germany in the war against the Allied Nations. However, all this did not happen in a political and institutional void. The political class of the country and those who were invested by the Constitution to exercise power in the state cannot evade themselves of their merits in organizing the act of 23 August 1944 in order to forget the direct responsibility incumbent on them, both to the collapse of the constitutional system of the country, as well as to installing subsequent dictatorial regimes. Even when Antonescu was the "leader" of the country, both the political parties, as well as the king, took part in the respective political game, and their actions at that time spoke rather of complicity and cooperation than resistance and insubordination.

At the same time, we cannot accept the opinions that try to belittle the importance of the political and military act of 23 August 1944 in the context of later evolutions of events, which brought about the political subordination of Romania and the countries in this region to the Soviet control. There is a false reasoning here, the type of "according to this ... because of this." Other countries in this region did not have a "23 August," but from the viewpoint of political regime and subordination to the Soviet Union, they shared an identical destiny with us.

The idea that Antonescu could have been the protagonist of events and could have negotiated better the conditions of an armistice and thus ensure the territorial integrity of our country is false and lacks consistency. A commentary piece is being overlooked here—namely that not only the Soviets, but the western allies would not have accepted Antonescu as an interlocutor, who was considered to represent to the most faithful of Hitler's allies and responsible for attacking Romania in the German war machine. Without the arrest of Antonescu and his government, the first actions of breaking away from Hitlerite Germany, and the act of joining the anti-fascist coalition, no one would have noticed Bucharest. In fact, it is well known that certain attempts of contact encouraged by Antonescu remained without response.

At the other extreme were the communist leaders, headed by Ana Pauker, who were in Moscow. They actioned those who stayed in Romania, especially Lucretiu Patrascanu, of cooperating with the "bourgeois-landlord parties" and the Palace, thus facilitating their political survival. In Ana Pauker's view, the forced entry of the Red Army in Romania in the middle of a full-scale offensive, the elimination of the monarchy and the historical parties from the political scene, and the direct installation of a "democratic popular" regime as a form of "proletariat's dictatorship" as it happened in Bulgaria on 9 September 1944 would have been more desirable. This was an anti-national viewpoint, which, through its consequences, was identical with Antonescu's suicidal option of organizing the resistance line at Focsani-Nistrul-vara. Turning the entire territory of the country into a battlefield would have increased enormously the human and material sacrifices not to mention the subsequent political consequences of such an act, especially as regards Transylvania, which are easy to estimate.

Therefore, there was no better alternative for Romania in spite of diversity and even a contradiction of interests that animated the action of the political forces grouped in the Triple concentrational coalition of the National Democratic Bloc, combined with the Palace circles, who saw in this act a unit way for the monarchy's survival on the platform of joint action and its success were in line with the supreme interest of the country at that time and saved the national dignity and a part of the national territory that was robbed from Romania.

For the politician, the attempts to clarify the significance of the 23 August 1944 act is not an opportunity to assume the role of scientist or historian but to [illegible] the defense structures of the national history. We must try understanding the true requirements of the national interest and the chance to learn how to implement them or at least avoid repeating the mistakes of history. Therefore, I believe that this commemoration is also an opportunity to recall the responsibilities incumbent currently on the political factors of our country in connection with the national destiny.

The current situation resembles in many ways the situation that we are recalling today. Basically, we are approaching the end of what we could call "World War III"—that is, a "Cold War" that concluded with the [illegible] of totalitarian regimes in Europe. The former adversaries are trying to build new relations between themselves. This process of settling relations—a process in which we are also participating currently—involves a permanent confrontation and struggle in accordance with "classical" methods, meaning that the interests of the stronger and mighty ones will prevail.

In this struggle in which states appear and disappear, forces that are hostile to democracy and European order also emerge. We are witnessing the emergence of groups of a neo-fascist and neo-Nazi orientation in a number of countries in Europe, as well as the rise of certain political formations with revanchist and revisionist tendencies. These formations perceive the truly historic moment in Europe and mainly in what used to be called "East Europe" and are dreaming about better regions and maybe about favorable circumstances that would facilitate in the sense their well-adjustments to the political map of Europe.

We must understand that Romania is not exempt from dangers resulting from the actions of these forces, that

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the Carpathians have not been dealt," and that the security of the country depends first of all on the capability of internal political forces to act in such a way as to make sure that, in a confrontation between them, according to the rules of the democratic society, national interest always prevails.

The internal stability of the country—the achievement of all national political forces in the almost five years that have elapsed since the revolution—is one of our major vital trumps. The real value of its importance can be seen only if we look around and see the conflicts that are liquidating neighboring countries, which otherwise would live peacefully together for scores of years. We have become—and thus we are perceived with greater interest abroad—a factor of stability in our part of the continent and, through our economic, demographic, and intellectual potential, we are capable of becoming an important pillar in the European construction.

I believe that we need very little effort to make complete use of our entire potential. However, it is imperative that we get rid of the suspicion and hatred that the old totalitarian regime instilled in us. We must accept the facts and the rules of the political game in a democratic and pluralist state, starting with respect for the state's fundamental institutions. We should avoid the temptation to obtain the sympathy of Western countries in order to use them as political capital in a internal political confrontation which, as has been proven in the last four years, brought maybe some small satisfaction to one party or another, but managed to do nothing except produce immense prejudice to the fundamental interests of our country. Let each of us feel at the temporary place we occupy in the political system of our country the part of representative encumbered on us for the national interest.

I am convinced that the crucial and historic moment that Romania is undergoing after the 1989 revolution—that is, a complex transition in very difficult international conditions—requires the cooperation of all responsible political forces of our country, on the basis of a minimum platform of national consensus regarding the fundamental political orientations, both in the domestic and international arenas. Such cooperation is possible and necessary, even in the name of the diversity of opinions and confrontation of opinions, which are natural and must continue to take place but only by respecting the rules of the democratic system. This cooperation will ensure the necessary climate for organizing those forces that can move forward the positive processes in our society more rapidly and can successfully defend the interests of the country in its international relations.

I believe this is the major message and significance contained in the 23 August 1944 act both for the politicians of today and for all of us.

Bucharest, 22 August 1944

Ministry: Bread Price To Increase 20 Percent

AU1108120694 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 31 Aug 94

[Text] The Ministry of Agriculture announces that the price of bread will go up by 20 percent as of tomorrow. Here are the price increases for various bread categories. For the simple white 400 gram bread loaf, the price will go up from 175 lei to 210 lei, that is a 20 percent increase, of 35 lei per loaf; for the simple white 900 gram bread loaf, the increase will amount to 19 percent, for the Dambovita 600 gram loaf, the price will go up from 210 lei to 240 lei—here is the highest increase, of 23 percent. However, the average increase is 20 percent.

Government To Pay Debts of Major Grain Company

AU1108114794 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 31 Aug 94 p 1

[Article by Gilda Lazar: "After Having Replaced Ioan Ciancu, the Government Pays the Debts of Romcereal"]

[Text] One week after having replaced Ioan Ciancu as head of the Agriculture and Food Ministry, the government decided to reach into the pocket containing public money and pay the debts of the Romcereal Autonomous Public Corporation. They are to pay 25 billion lei from the taxpayers' money. Officially, the move is termed as "the covering, from the state budget, of the negative influences suffered in 1993 by the public corporation"—that is, losses worth 17.9 billion lei owing to the increase in transportation costs and 7.09 billion lei representing the interest on outstanding loan reimbursements. When will they cover the possible debts of the agreement as well, the way they did last year? On the other hand, they are talking about the mafia of the big-time wholesale businessmen and great importers, holding the monopoly over the entire cereals commerce. However, as the saying goes, they are also one of us, so they have to be protected. It is just the small producers who are not protected if these crops rot in the field and for whom no one is willing "to cover the losses caused by the negative influence of Romcereal upon the individual farmers."

Cioffec, Leaders Set Up New TU Confederation

AU1108113194 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 27 Aug 94 p 12

[Article by Costi Godinac: "Victor Cioffec Set Up a New Trade Union Confederation"]

[Text] Yesterday, Victor Cioffec, still president of the CNSRL [National Confederation of Romania's Free Trade Unions]-Fratia, together with 44 leaders of county federations and unions, set up a new trade union confederation.

According to the statements made by the trade union leader, this was a particularly important event in the trade union movement. "Today, 44 leaders of country

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federations and unions established the nucleus of a new confederation that will break away from the CNSRL-Fratia. Sixteen trade union organizations have already come up with the trade union members' adherence documents and 10 organizations confirmed their option in writing. In the next few days, other organizations will also come up with documents. However, trade union organizations gave their approval to the Declaration of Intention signed with the CDR [Democratic Convention of Romania]" Victor Cozma affirmed.

The country federations and unions that make up the new trade union confederation belong to the following fields: food industry, ready-mades, textiles, health (the Physicians' Federative Chamber, Hipocrat), railroad (Freight Transport Federation), and electronics and electrotechnology (Federation West).

The trade union leaders set up a Committee of Initiative that decided that an Extraordinary Congress of the confederation will be held at the end of September. The name of the new confederation ("Trade Union Democratic Convention Confederation" or "Convention of Democratic Trade Unions of Romania") as well as the confederation's organizational structure will be decided on that occasion.

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Bosnian Serbs Condition Territorial Division

LD1108143994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1430 GMT 11 Sep 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Pale, Aug. 11 (TANJUG)—A Bosnian Serb official has told TANJUG that the Bosnian Serb side has nothing against division of Bosnia into three separate parts.

The official, Vice President of the Bosnian Serb Republic Nikola Koljevic, said this would be acceptable if it did not interfere with the Bosnian Serb interests.

United States Gen. Vernon Walters, a roving ambassador for ex-former U.S. President and one of the architects of the U.S. policy in Europe, recently told the Paris daily LE FIGARO that the only solution for Bosnia was to make a new map for territorial division.

Gen. Walters, who was also U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and to Germany and deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, said the new map to be drawn by European powers would also require massive exchanges of populations in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He also spoke of a great danger of Islamic fanaticism and said that the civil war in Bosnia was getting out of control.

Commenting on Gen. Walters's statement, Koljevic said it remained to be seen to what extent Walters's views were shared by other ranking officials of the U.S. administration and how popular they were.

Koljevic said this would to what extent the reactions of the Bosnian Croat and Muslim officials were heard, because that most mainly concerned the Croats and the Moslems.

Krajisnik Seeks Discussion of New Peace Plan

LD1108151694 Sarajevo Radio Republika Srpska Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Sep 94

[Text] Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the people's assembly of the Srpska republic, said in an interview with today's LIBERTAS [SRPSKA] that following the people's rejection of the Contact Group's plan at the referendum, Srpska republic representatives could only discuss new maps or, in other words, a new peace plan.

By this I mean that we have received only one segment of the Contact Group's plan—the maps. By rejecting the maps, the referendum has rendered this plan null and void, Krajisnik explained.

Commenting on the results of the referendum, he stressed that this was yet another confirmation that the Srpska republic leadership was pursuing policies as outlined by the people and ratified by the people's assembly.

Asked why the attacks from Serbia and Montenegro were not being countered in kind, Krajisnik said that the Srpska republic leadership was adhering to protocol and diplomatic etiquette.

It is not our intention to create a rift, because we want to see the unification of the Serb nation, said the president of the Srpska republic assembly, and added that the West had spent a long time waiting and building its policy at the expense of Serb unity.

Bosnian Serbs To Suspend Dealings With FRY

LD1108171194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Sep 94

[Text] Pale, 11 Aug (TANJUG)—The government of the Srpska republic decided at its session in Pale today to suspend all financial dealings with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], while financial transactions with the republic of Serb Krajina in Croatia are to proceed as usual.

The Srpska republic government also decided to halt all cash payments in the republic, with the exception of purchases of farm products, hard currency, and funerary expenditures.

Also adopted was a program of measures and tasks aimed at alleviating the effects of the blockade.

The government charged the ministries with taking concrete steps in the program's implementation, the basic objective of which is to lessen the blockade's adverse effects in all spheres of state, economic, and social activities.

The government formed headquarters for the implementation and monitoring of the program—headquarters for the economy, a logistics and catering service for the army, a power industry headquarters, as well as headquarters for foreign trade and trade with the FRY.

According to the Srpska republic government's decision, when traveling abroad citizens may only take 200 dinars, or the equivalent in convertible currency, out of the country, while currency imports into the republic will continue to be unrestricted.

Pale Announces Continuation of Trade With Knin

AU1108204794 Paris AFP in English 2004 GMT 11 Sep 94

[Excerpts] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 11 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs Wednesday [31 August] announced a trade freeze with the neighbouring Yugoslav republic, in what observers said was simply an acceptance of Belgrade's economic embargo against them. [passage omitted]

Pale also said it would continue to trade with the self-declared Serbian republic of Krajina in Croatia. The border between the two secessionist states is Pale's only commercially open land border.

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Pale's Rasko Calls Peace Proposals 'Absurd'

AU1109131194 Paris AFP in English 1308 GMT
11 Aug 94

[Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 11 (AFP)—The Bosnian Serbs are waiting for a new initiative "to break the vicious circle" after last weekend's referendum which rejected the international peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, the foreign minister of the self-proclaimed Serb republic said Wednesday [11 August].

"No proposal we make will succeed, we need outside help," Aleksa Rasko said in an interview with AFP.

The foreign minister said he regretted the Owen-Stoltenberg plan—which foresaw a confederation of three republics with the right to withdraw—had been abandoned, adding that it was only thrown out after Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic visited Washington.

On this trip, Rasko observed, Izetbegovic got guarantees and promises that were subsequently written into the plan by the contact group on ex-Yugoslavia.

He criticized the international community's three main diplomatic players concerning the Bosnian problem—the London conference, the contact group and the United States.

"They agreed on only one thing, that the Serbs are guilty, that they had to be punished and their interests ignored, while the Muslims were created by God to be honoured with privileges," Rasko said.

"We can only break this vicious circle with the help of a powerful ally, whom we unfortunately don't have," he added.

Coming back to the international peace plan, Rasko especially regretted not allowing the immediate division of Sarajevo but placing the town for two years under UN administration, under conditions that would result in its being given in its entirety to the Bosnians.

He also pointed out that the contact group had not offered the Serbs access to the sea, saying they should receive half of the 14 kilometres (11 miles) of coastline belonging to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Finally, no real constitutional arrangements would have made the Serb republic "in the best case scenario an autonomous province at the heart of a Bosnian federation."

"Enough," Rasko concluded, "that the international community will end up realising that it has proposed absurd things that will lead us nowhere."

Human Rights Representative Expelled From Pale

AU1109131194 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
11 Sep 94 p 10

[Report by V. Dz.: "Victim of Clash of Jurisdictions"]

[Text] To be honest, I was afraid that I was become another "Srpska case" (abduction and disappearance of a group of Muslims from the Belgrade-Bar train in the nation of Srpska) or something of that kind. This is how Ljubica Mihelic, representative of the Human Rights Watch (HRW) (former Helsinki Watch) for Serbia and Montenegro, began her story about the troubles she had with the Pale authorities. Let us recall that last May Mihelic traveled to Pale in order to interview Serb leaders about the Serb refugees from the Muslim part of Sarajevo, but she was literally expelled from Pale the moment

"Immediately upon arriving in Pale, I reported to the Press Center and Nenja Kovacevic [Radovan Karadzic's daughter] advised me to wait for an hour while someone settled some formalities that I could not get out from Belgrade as telephone lines were out. Ljubica Mihelic told BORBA. Instead of being given the papers, I was in civilian clothes—it turned out later that he was a police man—came and asked me sharply to leave the hotel within 12 hours. People in the Presidency of the Serbian Republic explained to me that that was a misunderstanding and that, on the contrary, it would be desirable for the truth about the Serbs in the Muslim part of Sarajevo to be heard in the world, something that Mr. John Zametica, Radovan Karadzic's spokesman, confirmed to me later on a telephone conversation. While I was waiting at the Commissariat for Refugees on the morning of 17 August, the policeman I met on the previous evening—his name is Nenad Skipetic—said I was a spy and ordered me to leave Pale on the first bus.

Waiting for something to happen, the HRW representative was then taken from the Olympic Hunting House before the eyes of several foreign journalists who then informed their colleagues in Belgrade and through them the HRW headquarters as well.

"After all the hearings, which to be honest, were done in a rather correct manner, albeit with constant suspicions and accusations that I was a spy, two policemen in plain clothes drove me from Pale in a Volkswagen Golf car with, I think, Zvornik license plates. I did not know where they were taking me, nor was I given an explanation as to why they were doing so. After midnight, on 18 August, I was driven to Mali Zvornik. Perhaps everything ended so well also because the foreign journalists in Pale were witnesses when I was harassed and taken away, even though some of them later had problems. I think that all this is a consequence of some people's unwillingness [lacking, of taste], or of desires," Ljubica Mihelic told BORBA. After being arrested in Kosovo recently, this was her second "police" experience.

Government Views Intensified Ethnic Cleansing

AU1109131194 Sarajevo Radio Bosna-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Sep 94

[Report by Azmir Eko on the extraordinary session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Government on the

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intensified Serb expulsions of non-Serbian people from northern Bosnia in Sarajevo on 31 August—recorded]

[Text] [Ekic] Muhamed Ekic, minister for refugees and social policy, opened the session.

[Ekic] There has been an intensification of the process of ethnic cleansing—by the expulsion of the non-Serbian population—of the territory of Bosanska Krajina and Semberija this month. The number of those expelled from Bosanska Krajina, Sanski Most, Kozarac, Banja Luka, and Prijedor to the Travnik region is 1,170. The expelled people came to Travnik in three waves. All the expelled are Bosniak Muslims, women and children, who had been displaced even in Bosanska Krajina. Four hundred of them have been accommodated in Han Bila, while the others have been accommodated in deserted homes. The refugees who were expelled today are all from Kljuc. I can tell you that they arrived in Turbe before I came to the government session. They came in three buses—the women, children, and elderly people. There were no men of military age among them. It has been announced that another 700 people are coming to Travnik on 3 September and another 1,000 by 15 September.

Since 6 June, 957 people have been expelled from Semberija to Tuzla. Eight hundred of these are from Bijeljina, while the others are from Lopare. The information for August 1994 is as follows: On 6 August, 64 people were expelled, on 11 August 88, on 18 August 108, on 24 August 187, and on 28 August 432. The total number of expelled people reaching Tuzla in August is 877. Forty-six percent of these are women, 35 percent are men, and 19 percent are children. The refugees are mostly elderly people, and they are Bosniak Muslims. There has only been one Croatian family among them. The first group of 52 that was expelled on 6 June has been the only one deported under the supervision of the Red Cross of Bijeljina and Tuzla. All other expulsions have been organized independently by Vojkan Djurkovic. He has been charging the Muslims to leave their homes and also charging the Serbs to move into those same homes. Seventy refugees have been accommodated in [word indistinct] Srebrenik, 30 in Gracanica, and 200 in the university hall in Tuzla. All other refugees have been taken in by families in the Tuzla region.

From interviews with the refugees, we have learned that some 2,200 non-Serbs are still in the Bijeljina and Lopare areas. According to the information available to the UNHCR on the Serb territory, Vojkan Djurkovic has announced that he will have completely cleansed Semberija of the non-Serbian population by 15 September.

Let me also add that there has been some movement of expelled people toward Croatia, but we do not have any information on the number and type of people expelled.

[Ekic] The ministry put forward two proposals, which were adopted. The first one is that the regions of Sarajevo, Travnik, Tuzla, and Zenica should take in equal numbers of refugees in centers for collective reception and other accommodation facilities. The second is that the government should provide financial aid for the construction of facilities for temporary accommodation.

Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic reviewed the following:

[Silajdzic] We can conclude that the process of ethnic cleansing—and that is genocide under a different name—has been going on for over two and a half years in Bosnia-Herzegovina in front of the world public. The question arises: Are institutions like the United Nations and UNHCR ready and willing to protect the population from the most brutal of violations of the basic human rights? As you know, up to now we have been addressing these institutions in various ways, through letters, statements, and appeals.

Today, on this occasion, I propose that we should not turn to the UN secretary general, the UNHCR, or to presidents and prime ministers. We should turn to the public in the United States, in France, England, Germany, Russia, and other countries. It is our duty to supply information about what is going on. We can do that much, and we will.

[Ekic] The prime minister's proposal and the appeal to the population on the free territory to help the refugees was adopted, and the government will act accordingly.

Red Cross Appeals for End to 'Ethnic Cleansing'

AU2308134294 Sarajevo *Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina* Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Aug 94

[Text] Concerning the ethnic cleansing that the Serb aggressor has been carrying out in Bijeljina and Lopare, the Presidency of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Red Cross has sent a letter to Cornelio Sommaruga, chairman of the International Red Cross.

We appeal to you to do all you can to reform the world about these criminal activities, so that it can finally find ways to prevent the persecution of people on the territories under Serb occupation, the letter says.

Protests Expulsions

AU2308121494 Sarajevo *Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina* Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Aug 94

[Report by Salih Beko from Tuzla]

[Text] The horrible exodus of the Bosniak Muslims from Bijeljina and Lopare and the lack of response by the international community, which has done nothing to prevent this, have forced us to address you. This starts the open letter to UN Secretary-General Butros-Ghali by members of the Cantonal Commission of the Red Cross of the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton.

The letter goes on to say that, even though the International Red Cross has proclaimed the expulsion of the Bosniaks from Bijeljina the most brutal violation of the

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basic human rights, this has had no effect on those who have been conducting this criminal activity. On the contrary, the expulsions and physical and mental abuse of the Bosniacs in Bijeljina have intensified. Every night large groups of women, children, and the elderly are being forced to cross the front line, while younger healthy men are taken away to unknown destinations. All those expelled are forced to give up their property rights over their houses and other real estate and they are also robbed of all their other valuables, such as money and jewelry.

Mr. Butros-Ghali, we expect you to take urgent measures within the United Nations to protect the remaining Bosniak Muslim population in Bijeljina and enable those expelled to return to their homes, says the open letter sent to Butros-Ghali by the Cantonal Commission of the Red Cross in Tuzla.

Izetbegovic Anticipating Pope's Visit to Sarajevo

AU1308171594 Sarajevo Radio Bosna Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 11 Aug 94

[Text] Concerning the pope's visit to Sarajevo, President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency has stated that Pope John Paul II is one of the greatest and most influential men in the world today.

I am certain that he is one of the greatest men of this century. His words are listened to carefully not only by common people to whom they are most often addressed, but by the powerful men of this world who know that they cannot afford to ignore them.

The arrival of Pope (Wojtila) as the head of the church and his earlier activities when he was the Polish cardinal gave a strong impetus to freedom in the world and hastened the fall of the totalitarian regimes. [Word indistinct] pope's visits to all the places of human suffering and his words of encouragement and hope be addressed to those humiliated and suffering.

His visit to Sarajevo is in fact a visit to the world's capital of agony and resistance. His visit will mark a great day for Sarajevo and Bosnia-Hercegovina. All its citizens, regardless of their religion, see this visit as a sign of recognition for their dignity and courage in facing all the temptations and troubles they have had to suffer.

I had the honor of meeting Pope John Paul II twice. I express my deep and sincere respect for this truly great man, President Izetbegovic says.

Silajdzic Comments

AU1308061594 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2000 GMT 11 Aug 94

[Report by Friedrich Orter from Sarajevo]

[Text] The pope's planned time of arrival at Sarajevo Airport is still kept secret. There are UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] troops on the tarmac and constant NATO flights. The security measures are being coordinated between the Bosnian Government and the Vatican. This is a visit by the pope to a city crisscrossed by trenches. Helicopters are flying over the likely route—from the airport to the UN base and then onwards to the premises of the destroyed Olympic stadium. Nearby, the pope plans to hold a service, right beside the graves of the Muslims who were killed in the war.

The police forces are reinforced appropriately for the occasion. The Bosnian Government has confirmed that the pope will visit on 8 September.

[Begin Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic recording, in English with superimposed German translation] The visit is recognition of all those who have not followed the call for blood and fire, a recognition of all those who still believe in Bosnia as a multinational state, who have resisted fascism and apartheid, an expression of respect to all those who have not raised their weapons against helpless civilians. [end recording]

After two-and-a-half years of the atrocities of war, the UN troops are already busy preparing their withdrawal, just in case the arms embargo against the Muslims is lifted, and to clear mined paths.

[Begin Silajdzic recording] Why did the states not worry about our civilians and our soldiers when they imposed the arms embargo against Bosnia? Because of that we have lost 200,000 people—because these people were unable to defend themselves. This was a great advantage for the aggressor. They conquered territory by killing, by genocide, by ethnic cleansing—because the enemy had weapons and we did not. After everything that has happened, now the UN troops intend to withdraw. This gives a new advantage to the forces of the aggressor. Without heavy artillery, Muslim counterattacks are unsuccessful. [end recording]

UN Assesses Pope's Safety

AU3109102694 Paris AFP in English 0944 GMT 1 Sep 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 1 (AFP)—Pope John Paul II would not be in any particular danger during his planned trip to Sarajevo next week, General Andre Soubirou, the commander of UN peacekeepers in Sarajevo, said Thursday.

He said the UN Protection Force, which would have to provide the bulk of security during the pope's visit September 8-11, feels that the security risk for the papal visit would be "at a normal level."

Soubirou said his troops would assist Bosnian police in ensuring the pontiff's security since Bosnia, the host country, is technically responsible for organizing the trip.

The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] had warned last week that the visit would be high risk and that UN troops could not guarantee the Pope's security 100 percent.

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One UNPROFOR expert who spoke on condition of anonymity said at the time that the United Nations had divided the visit into three phases. He said the buildings the pope plans to visit have to be secured and the pope's personal security has to be safeguarded at all points, and "it doesn't look too good anywhere."

The Vatican hinted that the historic trip could be cancelled last week following mounting security and health concerns.

But on Thursday the Vatican said the trip was still on although a "final decision" would be made in coming days.

Vatican spokesman Joaquin Navarro said the Pope still hopes to be able to go ahead with the visit "despite the tense and unstable situation" in the Bosnian capital.

Archbishopric Comments

AU1108204194 Paris AFP in English 1127 GMT 11 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, August 11 (AFP)—The Sarajevo Catholic archbishopric said Wednesday [31 August] it was "convinced" that the Pope would visit the Bosnian capital on the first indication here that the Vatican had decided on the controversial trip.

Sources in the Vatican said Wednesday an announcement on the visit, which is expected to take place on September 8, would be made "perhaps Thursday."

"I'm deeply convinced that the Pope will come. If we were not convinced he was coming we wouldn't be doing all the preparations," Ivo Tomasevic, the secretary of the archbishop, told AFP.

Meanwhile, French UN soldiers were Wednesday repairing the access road to one of the churches where Pope John Paul II is scheduled to meet with the Sarajevo clergy.

Croats Complain Officials Obstructing Agreements

LD2310183094 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 23 Aug 94

[Text] Kresimir Zubak, president of the presidential council of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna and president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation, today received Petrica Jukic, the head of the government office for the implementation of the Constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation, and Drago Bilandzija and Davor Kolenda, officials in the government of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, the secretariat of the presidential council says in its statement carried by HABENA news agency.

President Zubak was informed about the recent problems and difficulties facing this office during the process of implementing the Constitution and the Washington agreement across the entire territory of the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation. Particular stress was placed on the refusal to set up a free zone project in central Bosnia, the failure to open the agreed Mostar roads and bus services—something that is a result of obstruction on the part of local authorities on the Bosniak-Muslim side.

The problems of traffic in the Mostar area, or Bijelo Polje, was also emphasized because of the customs duties, insurance premiums, and other taxes being charged there although they have already been levied in contravention of regulations. [sentence as heard]

Robberies that are reaching threatening proportions in this area was also pointed out. There is also a separate problem posed by the Bosniak-Muslim side's arrogant attitude to joint meetings to which it assigns unauthorized officials who have no authority to take decisions or their signature is not respected by local authorities.

President Zubak expressed satisfaction with the office's work and informed its officials about current problems and difficulties. He gave assurances that these and other problems would be discussed at appropriate levels and advised the officials to carry out their duties on the ground consistently in line with their role and the agreements reached, as well as with the interests of the Croat people in this area.

Mostar Croats Restricting Civilian Movement

LD2108162194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 21 Aug 94

[Report by unidentified correspondent from Mostar]

[Excerpts] The freedom of movement of civilians within the zone of the European Administration has once again, for the fourth time, been discussed at the headquarters of the European Administration for Mostar, but again without any results.

The Croatian side has not implemented any of the things that were agreed. It has not [words indistinct] to the headquarters of the European Administration, nor have the barriers been removed from other parts of [Croat-controlled] western Mostar. The Croatian negotiators stressed today that their people are against any agreement on the freedom of movement, and they gave two reasons: the policy of the media in the [government-controlled] eastern part of Mostar, and the construction of the bridge in Musala. The negotiators from the western part of Mostar said that the construction of the bridge in Musala was the cause of the outbreak of war last year, because this bridge connects only one nation, the Bosnian Muslim people, and that its construction would give them a significant military advantage. As the condition for the continuation of talks on the freedom of movement of civilians on the territory of the Mostar Commune, the Croatian side is demanding that the construction of the bridge in Musala be halted [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

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Another piece of news from Mostar. Thanks to the efforts of the Mostar studio of Bosnia-Herzegovina Television and the Mostar Presidency, the people of Mostar will as of today be able to watch the daily 2130 newscasts from the Sarajevo studio on Channel 6, on which they normally watch the satellite program. The installation of a relay has provided reception of these programs throughout the Mostar region.

UNPROFOR Said To Support Muslim Attacks

LD1108172794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1717 GMT 11 Aug 94

["Flood" items]

[Text] Doboj, Aug. 11 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army said Wednesday a tank with markings of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) on Wednesday supported Bosnian Muslim attacks on Bosnian Serb positions northeast of Maglaj.

The Banja Luka command of the Bosnian Serb Army said Wednesday Serb positions near Maglaj in northern Bosnia were attacked with strong fire from anti-aircraft guns and artillery weapons.

The source said NATO aircraft flew over the area for almost 40 minutes below the allowed altitude of 5,000 metres.

It said Muslim attacks on Bosnian Serb positions in the area of the towns of Doboj and Teslic and Mt. Ozren also in northern Bosnia left one woman killed. She was killed in the village of Donja Paklenica on the right bank of the Bosna River.

Serbs Target Vitezko From Within Exclusion Zone

AU1108061294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 7 Sep 94

[Excerpts] Last night, the Serbian aggressor attacked the defense lines of the Bicko Brdo territory. After fierce antiaircraft and small arms fire, the chetniks used mortars against the defense in Divkovci, Kladanj, the central part of the front, and against the regions of Vranovaca and Dubravica Donje. The situation was the hardest in the area of Bodovnik, where the aggressor on two occasions attempted to infiltrate reconnaissance-subversion groups. The troops of the 108th Infantry Brigade reacted promptly and thwarted these attempts. After these failed attempts, the chetniks shelled our positions in Bodovnik, firing over 50 82-mm mortar shells. The attacks passed without losses on the defenders' ranks and had no effect on the stability of the Bicko defense. [passage omitted]

The past day on the Visoko front was marked by continuous enemy antiaircraft and small arms provocations against our defense lines. The enemy in the evening hours used artillery to pound the town and our defense positions in the region of Prijeko from within the exclusion zone. The morning hours in Visoko have been relatively quiet, while the defense lines are targeted by sporadic small arms fire.

The defense lines of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 4th Corps were yesterday exposed to enemy infantry and artillery activity. The villages on the upper part of the Neretva River were also targeted by the chetniks. In the southern part of the 4th Corps theater of operations, the enemy opened sporadic fire from antiaircraft machine guns.

In the Sva Luca Operative Group theater of operations, the previous day was marked by the aggressor's provocations and sporadic artillery fire. The chetniks from Mount Ozren shelled our defense lines. Several howitzer shells were fired from the region of Plavetno Nebo, while the enemy fired some 10 mortar shells at the wider area of Vijenac. On the Tesanj part of the front, the chetniks—following unsuccessful attacks on the defense lines of the 203d Glorious Motorized Brigade Doboj Bosna—fired some 50 shells from Jahucic Polje at the village of Mravici. Luckily, there were no consequences. The enemy was reported regrouping on the Teslic-Tesanj part of the front.

In the past 24 hours, one person was killed and one wounded in Sarajevo by sniper bullets fired from chetnik positions. The sniper from Nedzarici targeted the area around the Oslobodjenje publishing house. In Pasjaca Kuce the chetniks opened fire from an M-84 machine gun, and they fired portable rocket launcher shells from Cavkarica Mastra at (Vrbic). The enemy carried out his usual small arms provocations along the demarcation lines. Intensified movement of the aggressor's military vehicles on their usual routes have been reported overnight.

Inter-Serbian Clashes Reported Near Doboj

AU1108070194

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 31 August carries on its regular 30-minute newscast several battle reports.

Reporting from Bihac, Muhamed Music says that "the aggressor has been attacking most fiercely on the Grabez Plain and the Grmusko-Sehbajevac Plateau, where he has fired over 250 shells at our defense lines since this morning." He says that "six civilians have been wounded today in the shelling of [word indistinct], Cetrnjac and Sehbajevci with howitzers. This afternoon the aggressor continued to attack our defense positions."

Describing the situation on the theater of operations of the 7th South Operative Group, Miroslav Aldobrovic reports that "clashes between the Mt. Ozren and (Kozo) chetniks in occupied Doboj, and the heavy aggressor's artillery and infantry attacks on the Teslic and Tesanj fronts have been the highlights of today. Clashes among

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Karadzic's Serbs have been going on now for several days in the area of Sevarlije (Pridjel), Potocani, and other occupied areas in the Ilidza Commune. Heavy explosions could be heard from the Sevarlije barracks, and some of the buildings were on fire." He says that "the chetniks in occupied Trnlic are continuing to shell the Tmany villages, particularly Jelasi, Mrkonic, Potrnic, and others, and several aggressor's tank-infantry attacks have been repulsed in Hotari and Zmajevac since this morning."

Nijaz Ramgonovic reports from Zvornik that "today the enemy shelled civilian targets in Vitinica and our defensive positions on this part of the front. As for the other parts of the front, there has been some small arms fire and fire with antiaircraft weapons."

The studio announcer cites the 1st Corps that "there has been no respite on the Ilijas front. Howitzers, tanks, mortars, and hill guns have been firing continuously at the defensive positions from the aggressor's infamous strongholds in Medosevac (Lukavac), Sendrac, Ljubinac, and Nebusici." The report says that "frequent movement of enemy military vehicles along the Semizovac-Sendrac-Nisici can still be registered. The chetniks have been heavily attacking the defense lines of the eastern part of Sarajevo with antiaircraft machine guns, hand grenades, and snipers. All these enemy activities have been happening within the protected zone and in front of the UN observers, who have failed to react."

Serbs Degrading Sarajevo of Gas, Water

AU1108164894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Aug 94

[Text] There is still no change in the supply of natural gas to Sarajevo. The suppliers were cut off on 27 August at the valve located on the territory under the Serbian aggressor's control. The UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] have given no indication that the situation might improve any time soon.

There is still no water is arriving into the city from the springs of Moscanica, Pilava, and Jahorinska Vrela, while only an insufficient number of wells are operating in the main spring of Bacevo. Because of that some parts of Sarajevo have no water, says the Waterworks Information Service.

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Officials, de Mello, Galbraith Meet With Abdic

LD1508173694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 15 Sep 94

[Text] Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the National Security Office of the Republic of Croatia, and his aide Davor Rastic met with Fikret Abdic and his aides today, we have learned on a statement from Croatia's National Security Office. The meeting was organized by the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR]. It was also attended by U.S. Ambassador Peter Galbraith and Sergio de Mello, head of UNPROFOR Civilian Affairs and, his aides.

Fikret Abdic said he did not accept the draft plan for the return of refugees that was presented to him on Monday by Ambassador Peter Galbraith. De Mello and Galbraith demanded that Abdic influence the refugees so they would accept the plan for their return under the firm guarantee of the international community to the area they had fled. Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the National Security Office of the Republic of Croatia, reiterated Croatia's position, by saying that the Republic of Croatia was not able to accept a single refugee. It is nevertheless willing to secure their transit across its territory on their way to those European countries that want to accept them.

Stressing the obligations the Republic of Croatia had assumed under the Washington agreement and expressing concern about the future of the Muslim refugees from the Cazin region, Sarinic spoke in favor of their peaceful and safe return covered by international guarantees to their homes in the Cazin region which is of geostrategic importance to the Republic of Croatia, the statement said.

Abdic Forces Block Return of Refugees

LD1508172194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 15 Sep 94

[Text] The refugees from the Cazin Krajina have been in Turanj for 12 days now. There are still no indications that they are returning to Velika Kladusa, Trazim Grkovski reporting.

[Grkovski] The refugees in Turanj carefully listened to the news of the meeting between Hrvoje Sarinic and Fikret Abdic and of Abdic's rejection of the proposal on the safe return of refugees to Velika Kladusa under the supervision of the peace forces. There have been no reactions among the refugees.

One thing is certain. The situation on the field—that is, in Turanj—is increasingly difficult, especially its humanitarian aspect. Pressure is being exerted on manipulated women and children, who are being called upon to protest and to try to break through the checkpoint held by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] and the Croatian police.

Around 1900 today, we learned from reliable sources that members of Fikret Abdic's forces—spotted in the blue vans wearing uniforms—are preventing all individual attempts to return.

The consequences of the 12 days on exile are serious. People are breaking into the half-demolished houses owned by expelled residents of Turanj and are physically assaulting them. [sentence as heard] Fifteen children have contracted contagious diseases. Seriously wounded refugees are coming to the Karlovac hospital of Svarca. Unfortunately, they often stand on unpermanent routes and border-crops on the blue zone. All this is obviously not enough for reason to prevail and for the refugees to finally start returning to Velika Kladusa and its vicinity.

Croatia, Bosnia Discuss Federation, Refugees

LD1508163194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 15 Sep 94

[Text] Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, today received Ejup Ganic, vice president of Bosnia-Herzegovina and member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

The talks centered on the course of the peace process in the region and relations within the Contact Group, especially following Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's presentation of his country's latest positions for the meeting between U.S. President Clinton and Russian President Yeltsin in the United States at the end of September.

The two men agreed that the implementation of all of the Washington agreement's provisions was of paramount importance to both the Bosniak [Muslim] and Croat peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and agreed on appropriate measures to speed up this process.

They also agreed that everything should be done to ensure the return of the refugees from Velika Kladusa to their homes as soon as possible; the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government guarantees their full security in this respect.

Ganic and Granic also discussed the preparations for the announced top-level interstate meetings.

Defense Minister: Peace Talks Must Continue

AU1008122194 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 27 Aug 94 pp 8-9

[Interview with Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak by Mario Marusic; place and date not given: "There Will Not Be Any Early Elections"]

[Text] *Defense Minister Gojko Susak has been Croatian President Tudjman's closest confidante ever since the beginning of Croatian independence and sovereignty. Before that he was minister of emigration affairs. Then he was appointed defense minister, a very responsible function in a country still exposed to Serbian aggression and with one-fourth of its territory occupied. Some people*

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One Should Not Cry Over Spilt Milk

[Marcinec] What is happening with the HDZ of Bosnia-Hercegovina—the appointment of Dario Kordic to head the party is interpreted by Muslim circles as a sign of reserve on the part of Croats toward the Federation?

[Nenak] The HDZ is the mayor organization of all the Croats, within which the HDZ of our emigrations abroad and that of Bosnia-Hercegovina function independently, but in terms of the main principles the platform of the HDZ is uncontested. Kordic is one of the officials in the leadership of the party, and he is implementing the platform. He alone cannot bring about any changes, just as any other individual cannot. It is the president of the party that can. The accusations from the Muslim side are absurd. They cannot propose this or that candidate to be chairman of the HDZ— the HDZ has never proposed any candidate to be chairman of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA]. Ejup Ganic is still the deputy chairman of the SDA, even though he has made much worse comments about Croats than Kordic has ever made about Muslims. I tell you this just to take notice of different stances when speaking about the reconstruction of cohabitation and mutual respect.

[Marcinec] How do you view the current situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the position of ethnic Croats there?

[Nenak] The position of Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina is difficult, but it is also difficult for the other two peoples in view of the circumstances we are living in. I think that for the Croatian national entity the most critical moment was when the conflict with the Muslims happened. At the time the Croats behaved quite irresponsibly in a way because they were not prepared for the conflict. They lost territories that they never should have lost, but I think that one should not cry over spilt milk now, as the English would say. Rather we should look into ourselves, find enough energy, organize ourselves, and on this occasion, given to us by the United States and most European countries—I refer to the Washington agreement—try to do what we can for the agreement to be implemented, so that the Croatian people could finally accomplish its historic goal through the agreement: that is, through the Federation of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the confederation with the Republic of Croatia.

[Marcinec] Does that mean that you believe that trust and cohabitation between the Croats and Muslims can be completely restored? How do you see this in view of what happened in Mostar on the left bank where Hans Koschnick was inaugurated, or, for instance, in view of continuing emigration of Croats from Zenica, Bugojno?

[Nenak] This is a war, neither the first one, nor unfortunately, the last one in our history. We are looking at things from the point of view of the present, so we are quite distrustful of the future, justifiably or unjustifiably—I do not know. There have been many wars—the

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[illegible] war in Europe or World War II. Look today, Germans and France—who could have believed it in 1945—are supporting the establishment of a joint army. It must be understood that the war between Muslims and Croats ceased not so long ago, and for that reason it is hard to make sound judgements. I hope that the leadership of the Croats and the Muslims are aware that this is the only way and the only chance for both peoples. I believe that reason will prevail eventually.

[illegible] want me to comment on people's reactions in Mostar, in Zenica, or reactions by some local bosses or other places? One has to understand that they have been completely isolated, they have lived under a media blockade and under the strong influence of negative propaganda. I can also say that while the people there chanted "Croatia, Croatia!" a Muslim boy approached me and said that he had been in the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], from which he was later expelled, but he still believed in something that could be called a better tomorrow for both Muslims and Croats. The group in which I believe was instructed, did not. Reports me, although there were a hundred people in it who followed in all the time.

[Marinic] How do you comment on the Serbian rejection of the contact group's peace plan for Bosnia-Hercegovina? Can the further course of events be foreseen?

[Susak] I am afraid that the contact group and the international community have not yet fully understood the essence of the problem in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Threatening threats will not yield any result. However, according to what President Clinton stated, 15 September should be a key day. The possible lifting of the embargo will not resolve the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but it will still force the United States and Europe to be more concrete about implementing decisions, no matter what they might be like. And I think that they will be making decisions precisely in compliance with the Washington agreement, with, perhaps, small deviations one way or the other other.

There Will Not Be Any Early Elections

[Marinic] And what about political life in the Republic of Croatia? Is there or is there not a split in the HDZ, and is there any possibility of early elections?

[Susak] There will be no early elections. I mean, there is always a possibility, which is up to the leading party that has a majority in the Assembly to announce. Being myself the deputy chairman of the majority party in the Assembly, I believe that no early elections will take place. I do not see any reason for them. True, the opposition tried to trigger early elections by using the group that seceded from the HDZ. However, its secession did not cause a crisis in either the HDZ or the Assembly, but it is the media, being quite supportive of the group, that made a great fuss about the entire issue, giving it more publicity than it deserved. The Assembly is in a crisis only when it cannot function—when it does not have a majority, and cannot make proper decisions—while so far the Assembly has always had a quorum, and it still has, and even if nobody else appeared in the Assembly—and the fact is that some independent deputies and some from the opposition do not fail to come—the HDZ would have a majority and it would be able to carry out its decisions in compliance with the laws valid and Constitution of the Republic of Croatia.

[Marinic] The departure of Manolic, Milas, and Degoricija represents a natural cleansing of the party. The HDZ is a party of democratic Croatian orientation, while none of the aforementioned has nothing to do with that. After the HDZ is a people's party, but not only people's, meaning that it must embrace both Croatias, that is, the spirit of the Croatian civilization and the peculiar character. Their departure, judging from the membership, has only served to strengthen us. And judging from the reaction on the field, and to mention the reaction in our congresses, it happened at the right moment.

One has to understand that in 1990 we started as a movement and opened our doors to anyone who ever wanted to get involved in the struggle for Croatia in any way, while today we are leading a normal democratic life with different opinions. Those who at the time [1990] had neither the opportunity, reason, or courage to found a party of their own are now leaving the HDZ. They entered the Assembly as members of the HDZ, and probably some of them would have been on the Assembly had he not been a member of the HDZ. Today, however, they are using privileges they acquired with the HDZ to pursue their own policy. Perhaps this is how it should be. It is also a part of the process for a better tomorrow. We shall see the results in the next elections.

[Marinic] A Zagreb daily recently reported that Manolic's men had prepared your presentation. Is that true? How do you view the events at Dubrava Jarak—is there anything more behind it than a mere accident, for instance, an attempt to remove you at a critical moment for Croatia?

[Susak] There are too many coincidences in the events at Dubrava Jarak. Still, it would be irresponsible on my part to draw conclusions that cannot be proven. Each commission that investigated the cases did not exclude the possibility of sabotage. Even though the investigation came across faults on the organization of the warehouse and its protection. Was it or was it not sabotage, was it just an odd coincidence—I would not speculate about it at all.

The assertion by the Zagreb daily that it possibly involved a planned assassination of me is definitely an act of irresponsibility, and I do not think it is founded on any particular evidence. Still, that there are attempts to eliminate the defense minister during war is nothing that cannot be expected. It is a part of his job and almost an everyday hazard. I do not pay any particular attention to it.

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International Community—a Nightmare of Interests

[Marcinec] In what way does Croatia intend to win back its occupied territories? Will it continue to count on political means, or will military force be used? What are the plans for the return of refugees, and what status and behavior on the part of UNPROFOR can we expect in the coming period?

[Susak] The question of UNPROFOR is very complicated. The issue is discussed every day—whether we should handle it this way, or that way, or whether we should give it up or what else we should do. While we were establishing the independent and sovereign Croatian state, we not only had no friends, we also met with no understanding in the international community. Therefore, I repeat, even though I am becoming somewhat wiser to myself as well as to the public, in the fall of 1990 I was received at the State Department in Washington, as the then Croatian minister of emigration affairs. A higher American official asked me—we were just talking about the upcoming referendum—what its purpose was. I told him that if the Croatian people voted in the referendum for a free and sovereign Croatian state, we, being the party that the Croatian people had elected to lead it, must carry out the will of our people. Then he said to me that not even our grandchildren would see Yugoslavia disintegrate, let alone us. Nobody in Europe died a war where tens of thousands of Croats were imprisoned in 1971. The same would have happened today as well had the Croatian people not shown more resolve, had the leadership not been more determined, had the power structure not been different, had the constitution not decomposed in itself.

UNPROFOR appeared at the moment when we were confronted with the choice of either to sacrifice the whole of Croatia or to accept UNPROFOR. It was not a question of whether we should eventually win, but rather whether Zagreb would look like Cologne, whether Split would look like Cologne. If we had acted differently, Croatia would have slid back into a state of 50 years ago, and the price of freedom won in such a way would have been unacceptable.

[Susak] We assessed then how Croatia could be constituted, what organization would be best for it, and concluded that this part of the job could be done with the international community or without it. And this is almost the official attitude that we hold today as well.

Nevertheless, when talking about the international community, we must know that it is a nightmare [as published] of different interests. When speaking about decisions made by the international community, about the United Nations, we feel as if it were one single body. It is not one body, but rather a barely harmonized accord of opinions that comes as such. What will happen with UNPROFOR? Will it stay in Croatia for an additional six months or not? It is hard to say. We must wait and see. One thing is for sure—we shall certainly not tolerate occupation. I said in Sisak, where the president sent me to say this, that next year, when [ancient knightly game with horsemen riding and tilting at a ring] took place, there would be no more Serbian guns aimed at Sisak. Which is to say, in one way or another, we shall win control over the territory.

The European Union Is Not a Land of Milk and Honey

[Marcinec] Concretely, what is the position and rating of Croatia in the world at the moment? What are the prospects for it to join the Partnership for Peace program, or to join the European Union in the near future or obtain some loans?

[Susak] In the next two or three months we shall get around 500 million dollars in loans, but I do not quite agree with that policy, to burden ourselves with loans, and consequently our future generations, because I am not quite sure whether we have a right to burden our future generations with loans, and whether it is sensible to get indebted ourselves at the moment at all. If there is no real need for it. Certain investors are necessary, and if those loans are favorable, we do not have to be members of either the European Union or the Partnership for Peace to obtain them.

As for Croatia's political position, if I say that it has never been better it does not mean much, because you could also say that our position has never been good. Well, I think Croatia's political position is favorable. If I could show you a letter I received last week from the U.S. defense secretary, you would see that the Americans value Croatia, that in their eyes it is a factor of stability and cooperation in the region. This is certainly encouraging.

Whether we join the Partnership for Peace this year or enter the European Union... Wait a minute, the European Union itself is not a land of milk and honey. Whether the poor are welcome I do not know. Not as you see, the referenda on joining the European Union did not score many positive points, for instance in Denmark, while in England there is also a great fuss about it.

We want to release ourselves from the claws of the East and join Europe at all costs. I do not see any reason why we should be panicky about it. We have the Croatian Army, the police, our state is established, and, in view of the circumstances in which we accomplished this, I think that we deserve recognition.

I also do not see any reason for panic over whether we shall enter the European Union in two or three years. After all, regarding their programs, no matter what the situation in Croatia might be like, we will not be eligible for membership in the next three or four years anyway. The Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary are not EU members yet, and they have not even had a war.

We Must Negotiate

[Marcinec] Is it necessary to negotiate with Belgrade or Knin all the time?

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[Novak] It would be irresponsible not to negotiate. I would personally go to Belgrade or Knin if there were any chance of an agreement being reached and stopping the bloodshed. I think it is our duty now. Those who claim that they would never negotiate are interested solely in winning political points.

Why, throughout the whole of the war against Serbs, negotiations were being carried out. After all, how would any war end if there were no negotiations and agreements? It would be a different matter if somebody were to go to Belgrade or Knin and betray Croatian interests—that is something we have to be careful about. We would be irresponsible before the eyes of the Croatian people and its history if we did not search for possible ways of making contact or negotiating. I met with Raseta [general of the former Yugoslav People's Army] in Sarajevo and signed the last cease-fire. Of course, there has been some skirmishing since then, but no new Vukovars, new Skabrnjas [Croatian towns destroyed during the war] have happened. A sort of peace has been established. Negotiations are our duty, regardless of how humiliating or unpopular they might sometimes appear.

[Marinac] Concretely, will there be any negotiations between president Tudjman and Milosevic at this stage?

[Novak] President Tudjman will not meet with Milosevic at any price. After all, he was quite explicit—until after Croatia and the FRY mutually recognize each other as their internationally recognized borders will he meet with Milosevic. Until these conditions are fulfilled, only low-level meetings are possible.

[Box, p 9]

[Marinac] What is your view of the "digging" into your past?

[Novak] Let them dig into my past. I have nothing against it. Only, what has been brought out is full of lies. It is the job of the opposition to do that, but I am rather surprised at the level, that is, the way in which they want to blacken my name at any price. First, the issue of the hangings—I did not do it, it was a frame-up about which I have judicial documents, while no legal action has ever been taken against me. As for those guns. In Canada one can buy as many guns as one like, and keep them all at home; you do not have to register them, you can drive them unloaded in your car.

Caste Refugees Reportedly Intending To Return

LD1108143894 Sarajevo Radio Bosna-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 11 Aug 94

[Report by Nada si-Ita from Zagreb]

[Excerpts] It has been confirmed in Zagreb today that refugees from the Bihac and Cazin regions are returning to the Cazin Krajina. It is clear now that only some refugees from Velika Kladusa are under the strong influence of Fikret Abdic, although even they are slowly starting to defy him.

According to what they have told the Croatian police and the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], the refugees from Cazin and Bihac now realize that Abdic was deceiving them. Now they have decided to return to their country, to their Bihac, to Cazin and the surrounding villages. They realize now, they say, that the [Bosnia-Hercegovina Army] 5th Corps can guarantee their safety. They have rejected the demands by Fikret Abdic to try and force their way from the occupied Croatian territories to its free parts. They say that they spent 12 days near Slunj and Ozmogrud, on the occupied Croatian territory. They suffered. They would have returned even earlier, but they were prevented by armed Chetniks and Abdic's men. Those who plan to stay will just suffer needlessly.

The Croatian Government has been repeating every day that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government is guaranteeing their safe return. Everything in Turanj is calm now. The humanitarian situation is catastrophic, there is no food, water or medicine, and contagious diseases have appeared, particularly among the children. Many of them have been placed in Karlovac hospitals. As we have said, it is the refugees' own fault that they are suffering. [passage omitted]

The Republic of Croatia will not allow them to enter its free parts, even at the request of the UNHCR. The Croatian Government has officially rejected that request. It has no reason to accept these refugees from western Bosnia. They are not refugees by force; they are refugees because Abdic's political ingenuity and no country will or should accept them.

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Federal

Draskovic Urges Removal of Yugoslav Sanctions

LD1108172194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2048 GMT 11 Aug 94

["Final" term]

[Text] Belgrade, Aug. 11 (TANJUG)—Serbian Renewal Movement President Vuk Draskovic on Wednesday warned that the belligerent powers would be encouraged if the anti-Yugoslav sanctions remained.

The "international community will give support to the belligerent powers and bear full responsibility for such a decision, if it does not lift or ease the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro," said Draskovic, the leader of Serbia's strongest opposition party.

Draskovic received a delegation of the French Parliament which was headed by vice-president of the parliamentary foreign relations committee Francois Guillaume.

Draskovic said that the "official policy in Serbia and Montenegro is radically different and the international community must give a radical answer by lifting the sanctions."

"If the world immediately answers by lifting the sanctions, it will be possible to reach agreement on international observers on the border between Yugoslavia and the (Bosnian) Serb Republic," Draskovic said.

Guillaume said the international community wanted Serbia to provide evidence of its good will by allowing the deployment of foreign observers who would monitor the blockade of the Bosnian Serbs.

He said the resolving of the problem of these observers would enable the easing of the sanctions, even beyond culture, sports and the opening of airports.

The Yugoslav Government on August 4 decided to sever political and economic ties with the Bosnian Serb Republic after it refused to accept the plan of the international "Contact Group" and sealed the border to transport of all goods except food, medicines and clothing.

The United Nations Security Council imposed rigid and comprehensive sanctions against Yugoslavia in late May 1992, blaming it as the most responsible party for the civil war in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Democratic Party President Zoran Djindjic also received the delegation on Wednesday. The Democratic Party is the third-largest opposition party in Serbia.

During the talks, Djindjic said that the proposed Contact Group plan has failed since "it does not provide guarantees for lasting peace because the relations between the political and territorial status have not been clarified."

The United States, Russia, Great Britain, France and Germany are members of the Contact Group for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The peace process must go on, Djindjic said in the talks, and warned that "any attempts to make a real state of Bosnia-Herzegovina will fail and lead to instability sooner or later."

Djindjic said it was necessary to make an agreement on a confederation between the Bosnian Serb Republic and Yugoslavia, like the one signed between Croatia and the Muslim-Croat federation in Bosnia.

Defense Council Evaluates Army Preparedness

LD3108141794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1407 GMT 30 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Aug (TANJUG)—A session of the Supreme Defense Council was held in Belgrade today under the chairmanship of Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]; the FRY president's military office announced today.

Apart from members of the Supreme Defense Council, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic, the session was also attended by Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, Federal Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic, Lt-Gen Momcilo Perisic, chief of general staff of the Yugoslav Army.

The Supreme Defense Council reviewed the Yugoslav Army's level of combat readiness in the context of the current military, political, and security situation, and reached relevant conclusions.

The Council also examined the issue of the army's financing, assessing that in view of the allocated funds from the federal budget it is necessary to secure a smoother and steadier inflow of funds. This is of paramount importance for maintaining the desired level of combat readiness.

Serbia

Milosevic Agrees to Border Observers

AU1108150094 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 94 p 2

[Report by Srdjan Radulovic: "Control Along the Drina and Along the Una as Well"]

[Text] According to what BORBA has learned from sources close to people accompanying the Russian foreign minister on the talks with Andrey Kozyrev Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has agreed to international "monitoring" along the Drina River, however on the condition that observers be deployed along the border between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina as well. This possibility was also announced by Kozyrev himself in a statement he gave to Russian journalists after talks

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with Milosevic, when he said that "a physical guarantor" has also been envisaged by deploying international observers along the external borders of Bosnia."

What is hiding behind this hint about the plans to extend the mandate of the international observers' mission to "the external borders of Bosnia" and what is the background to the conditions that Milosevic set on the Drina "monitoring"?

The fact that sanctions have been introduced against the Srpska republic has obviously failed to convince the international community that official Belgrade is honest and consistent.

Milosevic is also being confronted with criticism on the part of the majority of opposition parties for refusing to accept observers. By accepting the observers' missions, he would mitigate that criticism, but would also justify this move with the observers' role in preventing the arming of the Bosnian Muslims through Croatia.

However, this would also breach the "logic" of the position of Krajina, for it is not known whether the term "external borders of Bosnia" includes the part of Krajina border with the western, Muslim part of Bosnia. As extending the mandate of the observers' mission requires Croatia's consent as well, it is completely certain that Zagreb will in that case insist on the implementation of the UN Security Council's resolution which orders UN forces to be deployed along the "Croatian border with Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Yugoslavia," whereby Krajina's eastern borders are treated as official borders of the Republic of Croatia in UN Protected Areas. This would, above all, put the territory of the former Serbian autonomous region of Krajina under the double control of UNPROFOR and of the observers along the "external borders of Bosnia." In fact, in the event that Belgrade accepted the mandate of the observers' mission to be extended, Krajina would find itself under blockade even without the sanctions on the "mother nation" being extended to it.

Reorganized Radical Party Elects New Leader

AU1109174194 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 94 p 12

[BETA report: "Guberina 'Loyal to Original Radicalism'"]

[Text] Veljko Guberina, the newly elected president of the reorganized People's Radical Party (NRS), stated at a news conference in the press center of Studio B yesterday that the party is loyal to the original ideas of Serbian radicalism and that it condemns the impotence of and the rift among the Serbian parliamentary opposition.

Our aims were written down in the founding document of the Serbian Radicals in 1881. These aims are prosperity, freedom, and national independence.

He stressed that the NRS this year has activated its 42 committees throughout Serbia and "preserved the healthy nucleus made up of all those who have truly remained loyal to the principles of radicalism in Serbia."

Guberina confirmed that he was in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the referendum on the Contact Group's plan and that, as a "Serb and a lawyer, he was convinced by the correctness of the struggle of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and their resolve to stay on their centuries-old land."

The NRS leadership rejects the possibility of an early coalition with any opposition party, but the party's views on various issues are similar to those of the Party of Serbian Unity of Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan, the Serbian National Renewal of Mirko Jovic, and the Peasants' Party of Serbia, Guberina said at the news conference.

Milosevic's Wife on 'Sponsors of Hatred'

AU1401175C Belgrade DOGA in Serbo-Croatian 4-22 Jul 94 pp 6-7

[Article by Dr. Mira Markovic, wife of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic: "Sponsors of Hatred"]

[Text] The Yugoslav nations have brought their misfortune upon themselves. However, this misfortune was 'promoted' by someone who had the interest and means for that job, and someone who has experience and success in that job.

28 June

For quite some time now, I have thought that June is actually the nicest month of the year. For some reason, I hesitate to say that when talking about the seasons. On the contrary, I always say that April is the nicest month. As of by 'nonsung June. I will say something wrong, or at least cast a shadow over my personality.

In this way, I have for a long time secretly loved Rogosin rather than Prince Myshkin [characters in Dostoevsky's *The Idiot*], to whom I gave my high-school support everywhere and at all times: in class and during recess, at home and on walks, during vacation and the school year, at noon and in the evening.

Thinking now and then about Myshkin, secretly about Rogosin, secretly about myself, in the same way I think about April, secretly about June, secretly about myself.

29 June

Ever since the societal system in Yugoslavia changed, among other things society has ceased to direct the development of some areas of societal life, for example art, education, sports, recreation, and even science. Primarily because under current conditions financial resources are scant and go to an organized fashion only to those areas where they are most needed: besides us and to Serbs outside Serbia, for elementary needs within Serbia itself. And then also because the changes in the

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system in the democratic direction have implied freedoms in choosing the financiers for individual activities, such as the right of financiers to choose their protegés. These financiers are now called sponsors. Sponsors are thus owners or managers who decide what activity and what individuals as standard-bearers of that activity—in art, in science, in sports, in education, and even in politics—they will finance. Thus, support.

Accordingly, the fate of many activities is in the hands of individuals. And the character of those activities depends on the education, knowledge, and political orientation of those individuals. Educated and progressive sponsors will support genuine artistic, athletic, scientific, and educational projects financially—and thus existentially as well—and will be patrons of prosperity.

It could easily happen that uneducated and conservative individuals will offer their support to activities of a low artistic level, of small scientific importance, of dubious contribution to education, conservative and destructive in the political sense.

If the financing—and thus the orientation—of science, education, recreation, sports, and art is in the hands of individuals, then the results offered by such an orientation will be anticipated with the same uncertainty with which the results of a lottery are anticipated. Only mere chance can result in a larger number of educated and progressive people being on the sponsor market.

However, in this case as well, their unsynchronized, unorganized, and disunited activity, despite their good intentions and considerable competence, cannot yield the results provided, to those ends, by a committed societal community.

And if one considers that among the so-called sponsors the largest number, or at least a rather large number, are the new rich who, in their hurry to grow rich in a few months, have not acquired proper and fundamental schooling, there is it is quite possible that they support kitsch in art, poor recreation activities, mistakes in the educational process, irrelevance in science, secondary factors in sports. And not to complicate matters, but also—evil in politics.

Giving direction to scientific, artistic, and educational development was once performed by the state or later, as we said in Yugoslavia, by organized society. Despite all the possible shortcomings (which indeed not a single activity—not even the best ones—has rid itself of), such an orientation had one indisputable advantage—it was not privatized and it was not personalized. And accordingly, there was no danger that an activity of general societal significance would depend on one subjective will. So that even assuming that this subjective will is based on high educational and positive moral foundations, not one societal interest could be placed in the hands of an individual will, thereby drawing itself into question. The very fact that an individual will is made a function of the common, the collective, the societal derogates the common, the collective, the societal, reduces it to the individual.

The fact that we are currently experiencing economic and financial difficulties and that we have decided to democratize societal relations does not mean that society and its institutions should transfer to anyone responsibility for what books will be printed, what competitions will be played, what music will be heard, what televisions broadcasts will be viewed, what values will be affirmed in society, and naturally, what ethical and esthetic values will be imparted to the young generation.

Different societies affirm different values as primary. Sometimes these values are moral, sometimes material, sometimes religious, sometimes ideological. Sometimes, spiritual values are dominant, sometimes secular ones. Sometimes traditional values are dominant, sometimes modern ones. In every case, in the majority of societies, the primary values are constituted on the level of overall society. And even when there are powerful subjects behind them, of which there are an increasing number, their interests are common and the values are identical. These subjects can be a class, a stratum, a profession, or a financial, militant, or theological oligarchy. In every case, it rarely happens that the primary values are not identified, and it is especially rare that they are diffuse, contradictory. Or rather, that they are in mutual conflict as an expression of the will of individuals with polarized values.

Of course, it is possible that one class, one stratum, imposes its interest, through its world view, on society, but it is truly rare for this to be imposed by the owner of a bicycle tire factory whereby his world view conflicts with the completely opposite world view of the director of a drug factory. In our country, everything is currently being sponsored: novels, operations, competitions, scientific work, performances, political parties... In this way, it is quite possible that a nice novel is not published, that a good sports competition is not played, that a serious operation is not performed, that progressive political programs and corresponding parties do not come to the fore, because the people promoting these activities have not had the good fortune to find corresponding rich people to finance them. Just as it is possible that an insignificant novel is published, that a bad sports competition is played, that a conservative and destructive political program and party comes to the fore, if their authors have the good fortune to find a corresponding sponsor.

These days, there are sponsors behind many important matters in all activities of our society. I simply do not know who the sponsors are of the disintegration of the country and of the war that is being waged in the territories where that country once was. We still do not know who the sponsors of hatred are that is devastating the former Yugoslavia. We more or less know who their executioners are. But the sponsors are still concealed. But wherever they are and whoever they are, they will be

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permitted—for the disintegration of a wonderful country, for the suffering of thousands of innocent people, for the agony in which women and children live—the beings who bear absolutely no responsibility for the war, but also the beings who are most brutally affected by the war.

The Yugoslav nations have brought their misfortune upon themselves. However, this misfortune was "sponsored" by someone else. Someone who has the interests and means for that job. And someone who has experience and success in that job.

Interests and experience can be long-lasting in nature. But means and success have their limits. That limit need not be Yugoslavia specifically, but one day some country will certainly be a territory in which the sponsors of someone else's misfortune will no longer have the means to finance it even though they continue to have the interest in financing it. And they will no longer have success in sponsoring someone else's misfortune, despite their major experience in that job.

1 Jan

In recent times, the law of the conquest has gained a new, masculist hypocrisy. I have the impression that it is not experienced as hypocrisy, not even among women. Even though at least they should see that it is hypocrisy. It concerns them.

But unfortunately, for centuries now women have not seen the pitfalls that stop them on the way to becoming people.

This relatively new pitfall lies in the generous, public, and increasingly frequent credit that men give women in saying that the activities with which women concern themselves are more important to society and to people in general than the activities in which men are preponderantly involved. Those activities that take up the majority of women's time and lives are, as we know, linked to the home, the family, and children. Even when they have their own profession, even when that profession is very important societally, even when they are successful in it, women's time that is not devoted to their profession is lost to cooking, shopping, cleaning the house, caring for children, and obligations to the family. There are activities in which men participate relatively little, and some—the more primitive type of man—not at all.

But thanks to the advancement of society, and thanks as well to some unknown "biology" of the female organism, female beings are born and arrive on the world who are increasingly driven in their willingness to share the activity surrounding the children, family, guests, but also dishes, brushes, and shopping bags, with those with whom they have decided to share their lives. Because in that way—or perhaps precisely in that way—life is shared between two people.

Men, with a strongly developed preservation instinct, more developed than among women (because if that were not so, they would not have managed to be the stronger sex throughout all of history), have sensed the danger that threatens them from this equal division. It could even be the case that a larger share is accorded to them in this division. That is why they spontaneously and quickly play the card that they believe is easy and convincing, will ensure their victory, and will protect them from the dangers inherent in a division of activities that in the past have been carried out by women alone. Men acknowledge these activities as superior, more significant to society, critical to human life. Harder, more complex, more important. They appeal to female consent. They count on female stupidity.

But it appears that they will be mistaken. Perhaps for the first time, Women are no longer stupid. And consent is a made trait. Thus, they are ready to leave the harder, more complex, and more important work up to the men. In this was as well, men contend that they are the stronger sex. That they have worked all this time, as the stronger sex, to protect women as the weaker sex. So if that is the case, some of them, in keeping with their attitudes, take on the women's work that they consider harder and more important (I am thinking of children, cooking, housekeeping, receiving guests), while some leave up to women the easier and less important things that they do—waging war, concluding peace, managing states, companies, parties, churches, banks...

Every weapon has a die, including the toughest and oldest weapon—demagogy. With any weapon, and thus with demagogy as well, for example, the victim is often the one who uses it.

2 Jan

Everything has really changed. And people have changed especially. But the majority of people have not changed especially, and many have not changed for the good. The changes that people are experiencing would be positive if people were to change especially and primarily for the good.

For example, if a shy person were to become sure of himself. If an industrious and educated person were to become successful. If a person with a gift for writing were to become a writer. If a person who saves money were able to buy a house or go to Indonesia on vacation.

But many of the changes among people appear today to be a nightmare of illogic. Many very industrial people scientists have the means to life; people who used to be modest have become aggressive and conceited. The creatures of the previous social system are publicly amazed that people were able to live in that system, in view of how bad it was; an officer of the UZNA [Department for the Security of the People], later the UDBA [State Security Administration], who in his own way spied on citizens who celebrated religious holidays, now goes to church and asks believers to accept him into their "flock"; the worst person at a job finds himself heading institutions that carry out that job; lazy people become

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successful, and the insignificant become important, people whom I considered brave sit at home behind windows and drawn curtains, collaborators with occupying forces claim to be patriots while the liberators and victors remain silent, acquiescing to any injustice and any humiliation inflicted upon them. I no longer like the people I used to meet; good people have become selfish and evil, while I can trust and count on some whom I believed to be evil, at least for understanding if not also for support.

Perhaps later, after this nightmare is over, looking at films and reading books, studying the documents on this period, some future generation will learn a lesson, among others, about how real people express their best traits in difficult times. That the good person is not the person who is good in good times, but rather the one who is good in bad times; that the honorable person is the one who places the interests of others above his own; that the brave person is not the one who fights in a crowd, but rather the one who dares to fight on his own; that a person's real convictions are those to which he remains committed even when they cease to be official and held by the masses, when they become moronic and prohibited convictions, when he does not necessarily gain any benefit from them, but can suffer harm from them.

I am consoled by the possibility that this lesson will be learned from this period, that hard times have a good side—they show the real face of each individual. Or rather, that one should never believe the fact that people show us peacetime, in good times and prosperity. People show their real face when difficult days arrive.

A Date

Yesterday my son turned 20. That afternoon, in the automobile race in Kraljevo, he captured first place in his class. Late last night, he celebrated his birthday in a small, romantic cafe in Pozarevac. All of his club friends arrived in the city straight from the race before midnight with their noisy cars, tired and ready to greet the dawn in Pozarevac. Early in the morning, very early, as the sun was rising in the east, he came into my room and said with joy: "Mama, now I'm 20 and one day." I knew, as did he, that Marko was joking. Forever happy, groundless and, passing through the clouds, unawakened from his adventurous dreams, he will never grow up, and will be forever young, like Peter Pan.

All night, the smell of field carnations wafted in, and all night the song of birds happily awaiting the dawn was heard. All the windows are wide open, and the light music from the center of the city can be heard throughout the house. Perhaps it is from the very cafe in which my Marko is celebrating his 20th birthday in the wee hours of the night. When he left the house with his party around midnight, we stayed awake, sitting up for a long time, perhaps all night.

That smell of field carnations and the songs of nocturnal birds and the music from the center of the city that reminds me of Andalusia... I was sleepy and awake until dawn, for the shortest night in the world.

But early in the morning, I gathered the fresh and moist blossoms of creepers from the balcony and from the yard, which had blossomed the evening before and had been blown from their branches by the warm morning wind before dawn. A weak wind, scarcely stirring the leaves on the trees, which nevertheless shortened the already short life of the heavy and light flowers that cover the walls of my house with the sentimental vitality of water lilies. Even today, in the late afternoon, or tomorrow morning, new flowers will bloom in the place of those that faded early.

Kosovo

Rugova Appeals For Prevention of 'Aggression'

AU2208134094 Vienna ATV+ Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 29 Aug 94

[Text] The prime minister of the Republic of Kosova, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi, has sent a letter to the U.N. secretary of state, the United Nations secretary general, and the foreign ministers of many states demanding that the coordinated Greek-Serb aggression be prevented.

For years on end, Greece has sought to excite the Greek minority in Albania against Tirana. Bukoshi stresses in this letter: The destabilization of southern Albania, the killing of innocent civilians in border regions, the deportation en masse and maltreatment of Albanian refugees, the propagation of hatred, and steps toward the closure of the border coincide with the models approved in the north, in Kosova.

We, in Kosova, are not surprised that Serbia and the state-controlled media immediately supported the Greek leaders, while we expressed our support for the moderate policy of dialogue and mediation followed by President Berisha, the letter says.

Lack of Funds, Parts for Energy Infrastructure

AU2208065694 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug 94 p 10

[Report by J. Pantelevic: "Overhaul Running Late, Storms Looming, No Money"]

[Text] Summer storms—true enough, stronger than the normal August showers, with wind and thunder—have blown the aggregates of Kosovo steam power plants out of order, demolished the transmission line pylons, torn the high voltage and low voltage grids, and left numerous electricity transformers without voltage, which of course, means that the consumers have been left without electricity. While Elektroprivreda Srbije is "licking its wounds" sustained in the 25 August storms, apart from the unacceptable power cuts for the consumers, one also wonders what will happen this winter, when it will get cold, the southeast wind will start blowing, and the snow

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will make it difficult for the repairmen to access breakdowns. Especially if one bears in mind that this year, for the third time in a row, the overhaul of installations for the generation and transmission of electrical energy are being carried out according to a restrictive program—that is, the Economic Institute plan—and that instead of the already reduced 358 million dinars, only 250 million will be spent on them. Naturally, that is on the condition that these funds will actually "arrive" because Elektroprivreda Srbije has only received some 50 million dinars so far.

The overhaul is running late. Elektroprivreda Srbije could not find the money for spare parts, raw materials, and workers until the National Bank of Yugoslavia "loosened its purse strings" and paid the first installment of 32 million dinars at the beginning of August. Until then, the job was done on credit, which can best be seen from the six month periodical balance sheet. From January until June, inclusive—therefore, during the period of the stable dinar—Elektroprivreda Srbije generated net losses of 370 million dinars. This number has been calculated using a simple equation by which the price of production and the transmission of electricity (and of coal for the power plants) is subtracted from the income accrued by the sale of electricity. Had depreciation, the revaluation of loans, and other balance-of-payments deficits been included in the calculation, the losses of Elektroprivreda Srbije would have amounted to 2.5 billion dinars.

Bogdan Djordjevic, assistant marketing director of Elektroprivreda Srbije, emphasized that an "act of God" was also responsible for the overhaul running late. Due to the drought and low water table in the second half of the year, when the overhaul of steam power plants was planned to begin, Elektroprivreda had to continue producing electricity from coal. The work has been postponed until August or September, and the steam power plant capacities will be overhauled partially in October (weather permitting, naturally).

The overhaul of hydroelectric power plants started in July and there are five aggregates working currently. Due to the drought, the hydroelectric power plants are currently producing only 65 percent of the quantities envisaged by the plan. In Obrenovac, only one block of the Nikola Tesla B steam power plant is undergoing overhaul while the work on one aggregate has been postponed, as otherwise the quantities of electricity generated would not be sufficient. The overhaul of two blocks at the Nikola Tesla A steam plant have been completed and another four are still awaiting overhaul. Due to the increased production of electricity from steam power plants in the summer season, only 60 percent of the planned quantities of coal in the Obrenovac depots remains, Djordjevic says.

Speaking about the installations in Kosovo and Metohija where the above-mentioned storms caused enormous damage, Djordjevic says that 50 percent of the planned works on steam power plants have been completed. They did not, however, even begin the overhaul of open cast coal mines, without which Kosovo's aggregates cannot produce any electricity. For this reason the depots do not contain even the smallest stocks of coal and all the quantities of coal that do arrive are sent immediately to steam boilers.

The second vital segment of Serbia's electricity system is its transmission and distribution network, which is still undergoing overhaul. Due to the shortage of funds, last year's damage has still not been repaired and the 23 August storms, which caused breakdowns on the low-voltage and high-voltage grids, have added to it.

The fault also lies with the so-called "human factor" because, especially in Kosovo, we have been encountering numerous problems with thieves stealing metal parts from transmission line pylons. Pylons damaged in this way cannot withstand gusts of wind and the grid is breaking up, Djordjevic explains, adding that the necessary cuts of 40 to 50 megawatts have been in force in the entire region (south Serbia and Kosovo and Metohija), that is, Elektrokosmet Pristina is switching off the consumers for three to four hours each day.

It is interesting that out of the funds intended for the overhaul, 60 million dinars go for distribution. The distribution sector has been without spare parts since last winter when transformers and high-voltage grid suffered due to overburdening. Those knowledgeable about the situation in Elektroprivreda Srbije say that this is "nothing" and caution that one should not rely much on promises given by Federal Economics Minister Tomislav Simovic that everything will be "okay" with the production of electricity this winter because these funds, which have only been approved recently, arrived late.

[Box, p 10]

Production

In the first six months of this year, Elektroprivreda Srbije produced 15.6 billion kwh [kilowatt-hours] of electricity and mined 17 million metric tons of coal envisaged by the plan (here Kolubara exceeded the planned production, while Kostolac failed marginally and Kosovo failed in a big way). At the same time, they removed 24 million cubic meters of coal from the surface seams, which constitutes a shortfall of 14 percent.

Vojvodina

Summer Drought Damages Corn, Soya Crop

AU1109093294 Novi Sad *DNEVNIK* in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 94 p 6

[Report by Jovan Popovic: "Drought Scorched Corn"]

[Excerpts] This summer the weather has not been kind to farmers. At the beginning of August, people were saying

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[text illegible] would be better than the drought as at least some of the crop would survive. The drought is causing a considerably greater damage to the crop. [passage omitted]

Corn and soya have been ruined the most. Sugar beet and vegetables have not fared any better. Only sunflower has withstood the drought, although there are fields where sunflower ripened 10 days early and in turn produced a 10 percent smaller yield. [passage omitted]

In Vojvodina, corn has been sown on 634,000 hectares. The expected average yield was six metric tons per hectare. According to the latest estimates, however, the yield will only be 3.6 tons per hectare owing to the drought. The total yield was expected to be 3.9 million tons, but according to the revised expectations, the yield will not exceed 2.4 million tons, which means that the drought has destroyed about 1.5 million tons.

In addition to corn, soya has also been seriously affected by the drought. This crop is particularly sensitive to the drought in the air and in the soil as it requires a lot of water. High temperatures and the lack of water will significantly affect the average yield. The drought has already caused the pods to drop and dispersed the seeds of numerous, particularly those of the late sorts.

In Vojvodina, soya has been sown on some 43,000 hectares which, with the planned yield of two tons per hectare, should produce about 87,000 tons of the seed. However, owing to the drought, the yield will not exceed 1.7 tons per hectare, and the total yield will be about 63,000 tons. So, the drought has already taken about 27,000 tons.

Sunflower Has Suffered Least Damage

As in past years, because of its biological characteristics, sunflower has best withstood the drought this year. Nevertheless, the yield will still not be as high as expected. The crop is in very a poor shape on about 10 to 20 percent of the fields (because of spring planting, insufficient firmness, and weeds), and the picking has already started. The crop is in good health, except on small areas, where crop rotation has been ignored.

With about 141,000 hectares under sunflower and the average yield of about 2.3 tons per hectare, this year's yield was expected to be about 325,000 tons. However, the drought has taken its toll, and the expected yield now is two tons per hectare. The total yield is expected to be about 283,000 tons, which is 42,000 tons less than expected.

During the summer, due to the drought, sugar beet was not growing as fast as it should have. Some leaves got dry and dropped. This led to the rapid ripening. However, the recent rain could result in the restoration of leaves, which, with favorable weather in September, could improve the state of the crop to some extent, and increase the yield, that is, the content of sugar in the root.

Sugar beet has been sown on some 52,000 hectares in Vojvodina. With an average yield of 40 tons per hectare, the planned production was about 2,480,000 million tons. The latest estimates are that, owing to the drought, the average yield could be 38 tons per hectare, and the total yield 2,360,000 million tons. The fall in production will be about five percent, or 125,000 tons. One can therefore concluded, that in addition to sunflower, sugar beet has also withstood the drought well.

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